Workers Of The World, Unite!

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The Treacherous Plan To Fine UAW Strikers

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GM PROFITEERS DEFY INVESTIGATION

New Robber Deals Mark Secret Moscow Meeting

By Joseph Hansen

The Moscow Conference of three foreign ministers has been hailed by the capitalist press as a big step toward peace. Actually nothing fundamental has been changed by the horse trades there. The basic antagonism between the Soviet Union and Anglo-American imperialism remains as profound as ever. Rampant Imperialist militarism drives unchecked toward the atomic destruction of civilization. The despotic rulers of old colonial empires continue to bathe the colonial lands in blood. And throughout the world the great masses of working people still face growing insecurity and the perspective of a Third World War.

The Big Three, in the traditional style of reactionary diplomats, met like thieves in the night. Iron censorship blanketed their parleys. What they discussed has not been fully revealed. What secret commitments they made remain unknown. All that is available is their carefully worded joint declaration of December 27, the comments of their controlled press, and their own subsequent praise of the conference.

But that is sufficient. Byrnes and Bevin, representing profit-bloated, market-hungry British and American imperialism, and Molotov, representing the assassin-minded, counter-revolutionary Kremlin bureaucracy, did everything but work for a stable and enduring peace.

JOINT DECLARATION

The joint declaration announced decisions on the following subjects.

1. The communique seeks to create the misleading impression that the Security Council of the

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Marines In China Protest Being Used To Aid Chiang

By Charles Carsten

Battle weary, homesick marines, forced to remain in China to support the brutal Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship, know how little truth is contained in Washington's repeated assertions that American troops are there to "disarm the Japanese."

They know Japanese troops are being used against the Chinese Stalinist forces. In a December 22 dispatch to the N. Y. Times, which got through the censorship after a week's delay, Henry R. Lieberman states "five thousand Japanese troops have been sent to Tientsin from Tangshan for repatriation but 9,000 still remain for railway guard duty."

The bitterness of the marines who are also guarding the railway, "extends to complaints that high point men are not being sent home fast enough and to protests that they did not enlist to guard British property," Lieberman states.

The property referred to by the marines is four Kailan coal mines, "which are operated by a private Sino-British concern." These mines are the largest source of China's coal supply. Their administration represents a merger of two companies. One of them is "the Chinese Mining and Engineering Company in whose organization former President Hoover played an important role," says Lieberman.

KEEPING MINES OPEN

An official of the Kailan mines declared, according to the dispatch, "if the marines were withdrawn amid the present unsettled political situation the mines could not stay open twenty-four hours."

It is not surprising that under these conditions, which are typical of many areas in China, Chiang Kai-shek has requested retention of American troops in China.

But American troops have no desire to protect either Chiang Kai-shek's regime or the interests of the private Kailan

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Operators' Greed Hinders Rescue

No provision whatsoever has been made by the profiteering mine operators to provide for the families of the rescue workers laboring to try to save the remaining 22 coal mine workers entombed since Wednesday, Dec. 26, in the Strait Creek mine, Pineville, Ky.

Consequently, according to George Ward, Secretary of the Harlan County Coal Operators Association, when calls went out for more rescue workers, many miners hesitated to volunteer. Most veteran miners, he said, gave little thought to any danger to themselves. But they don't want to run the risk of leaving their families starving and without a roof over their heads in case they too are killed or injured.

The Sound Of Brass

News Item: Col. J. C. Campbell in Manila tells 4,000 troops demonstrating to go home: "You men forget you're not working for General Motors."

Fact-Finding Board Plays Attorney For Corporation

By Art Preis

General Motors Corporation, arrogant as ever, on December 28 walked out of Truman's Fact-Finding Board hearings on the GM strike. The corporation categorically refused to permit its books and records to be made subject to examination even by friendly government officials.

Insisting that its monumental profits and ability to pay the 30 per cent wage increase demanded by 225,000 GM strikers was nobody's business but its own, the corporation withdrew its spokesmen from the hearings.

The Fact-Finding Board, a hand-picked creation of Truman's, had not called for GM's books. It had merely claimed its right to investigate them "if necessary," but that all information would be kept "confidential" from both the union and the general public.

GM's "ATTORNEYS"

When the Board members at the December 28 session, in opposition to GM's ultimatum, reiterated its intention to consider profits and prices in connection with the wage issue, Walter Gordon Merritt, GM attorney, announced: "Our chairs will be vacant."

But the next and final session of the Board, on Saturday, December 29, revealed that GM's chairs were "vacant" only in the direct and formal sense.

In the absence of the paid GM spokesmen, the members of the Fact-Finding Board themselves proceeded to act as attorneys for the multi-billion dollar corporation which only the day before had thumbed its nose at the Board.

This "impartial" body grilled and cross-examined Walter Reuther, the UAW spokesman, and other union representatives, in a savage and heated fashion. The Board members put forward all the arguments the corporation itself has flung at the union.

The tenor of the Board's at-

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Flint Pickets Face Renewed GM Provocations

By Jerry Kirk

(Special to The Militant)

FLINT, Mich., Dec. 28—Under threat of injunctions, the four General Motors union locals of Flint have permitted office and supervisory employes into the strike-bound GM plants. This policy was decided upon most reluctantly by the CIO United Auto Workers officials and members at Buick, Fisher Body, AC Spark Plug and Chevrolet.

Whereas last week witnessed several picket-line skirmishes at AC before GM applied for the injunction, this week the Buick local went through the same process.

At a specially called strike strategy meeting of the Buick local it was decided to allow salaried help to enter the plants providing they applied for permits at the union headquarters. After scores of supervisors were denied admittance because of their refusal to obtain passes from the union, terrific pressure was brought to bear on the Buick strike committee by the regional UAW office.

CONFUSING POLICY

By a very close vote it was decided to permit entry to all salaried employes who had passes. However, those who refused to obtain permits would not be kept out if they insisted on crossing the picket lines.

At all 15 gates of the Buick

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BIG STRIKE SCHEDULED AT WESTERN ELECTRIC

By Alan Braden

(Special to The Militant)

KEARNY, N. J., Dec. 28—Over 16,000 electrical workers, members of the independent Western Electric Employees Association, are engaging in final preparations for their scheduled strike on January 3. Main issue is the union's firm demand for a 30 per cent raise to meet the rising cost of living. Since August 28 the company has refused to meet this demand.

Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the WEEA, declared: "We're organized and set for a real battle. We're determined to win, and we've made plans to extend the strike and give the Company all the battle it wants until they recognize our just demands."

This huge electrical trust first offered 5 cents, then 10 cents, and finally 15 per cent. But the union, mindful of the deep cut in take-home pay and further cuts due to company downgrading, has insisted on a full 30 per cent. Union officials estimate that pay-cuts through elimination of overtime and at least one down grading for thousands of work-

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Detroit Strike Committee Urges Organizing GM Office Workers

By Kay O'Brien

(Special To The Militant)

DETROIT, Dec. 28.—The Detroit city-wide strike committee, representing all General Motors union locals in the city, passed a resolution on December 26 calling on the International of the CIO United Automobile Workers to start an immediate campaign to organize office and plant protection workers in General Motors plants.

The resolution declared that the company had repeatedly broken its agreements with the unions whereby skeleton office and maintenance crews were to be permitted to enter the struck plants. Instead, the resolution pointed out, the company has sent full forces of office workers to attempt to pass picket lines for the purpose of obtaining court injunctions banning mass picketing.

This resolution was the defiant answer of Detroit's GM auto workers to the latest attempts of the labor-hating corporation to force all office workers and foremen to crash

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New Year Finds American Labor On The March

By Mike Cort

The New Year appears destined to witness one of the greatest strike waves in the history of this country. Hour by hour evidence piles up to show that labor is determined upon a showdown fight to repulse the Big Business offensive against the workers' living standards and job security.

Strike votes already taken indicate that as many as 2,000,000 workers may be marching on picket lines before the end of January 1946.

The CIO United Packing House Workers has "alerted" 125,000 members and a walk-out is expected before February 1.

Months of fruitless negotiations with the steel barons have forced the CIO United Steel Workers to fix January 14 as the date of strike for its 800,000 members.

January 3 has been set as strike deadline for 19,000 workers employed by Western Electric Company in New York and New Jersey. This walk-out may result in a sympathy strike on the part of 250,000 members of the National Federation of Telephone Workers.

AFL Commercial Telegraphers Association will pull out 40,000 telegraphers on January 7. Government sabotage of building trade wage scales in New York City has forced the Building and Construction Trades Council to set the end of the month as strike date for its 200,000 members. And in Stamford, Conn., 15,000 workers, both AFL and CIO, have scheduled a general strike in support of the machinists fighting the bosses and state troops at the Yale & Towne plant.

Add all these to the 386,000 already on strike, and it looks like a Militant New Year.

IN THE NEWS

State Of Public Mind

An earth tremor in the vicinity of North Conway, N. H., on December 28 scared the natives pie-eyed. Joseph Pinnett, brakeman on the Mountain Mail train to Boston, pulled out his watch to note the time for history. "I wanted to time it because it might be something really serious like an atomic bomb going off."

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Except for Millions

"America wanted its boys home by now, except for those essential for occupation duty." (The Worker, Stalinist Sunday paper, December 23, Page 1.)

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Made in U. S. A.

Reporting on the imperialist assault on the Indonesian independence movement, a December 30 Associated Press dispatch from Batavia says, "Two thousand American - trained and equipped Dutch Marines arrived off Batavia today . . . Trained at Quantico, Va., Camp Lejeune, N. C., and Camp Pendleton, Calif., and fully supplied with American equipment, the Marines are considered among the finest troops in the Netherlands armed forces."

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Pays to Advertise

"Put a good product on the market, advertise it properly, and people will buy it . . . Not long ago our mighty war machine came to a grinding halt at the doors of Japan . . . its mission accomplished . . . Practically overnight we had need of a new Army . . . a Regular Army . . . a regular peace-time Army! . . . Somewhere behind the scenes, the blueprint for this Army was laid out and studied and revised . . . We have our new product . . . the new, peacetime Regular Army . . . and Americans are buying it!" (November Army Life.)

City-Wide Strike Set For Stamford

(Special to The Militant)

STAMFORD, Conn., Dec. 29 — A general city-wide strike, involving some 15,000 members of both the CIO and AFL, is being prepared here by all local unions, to go into effect, if Governor Baldwin fails by next Wednesday to withdraw state troops being used in an attempt to smash the bitter seven-week strike of 3,000 Yale & Towne workers.

The demand for withdrawal of the troops was sent to the Governor yesterday in a telegram signed by 15 local AFL and CIO officials representing the Combined Stamford Labor Organizations, a body formed to mobilize a united working class defense of the Yale & Towne strikers, members of the AFL International Association of Machinists.

This expression of labor solidarity and united action came after state police two days ago violently attacked the Yale & Towne picket line, arrested several strikers and escorted strikebreakers and company agents into the plant.

In their telegram, which charged that the Governor "directed the State Police to interfere with a peaceful picketing policy," the union leaders declared that failure of the Governor to give a favorable reply by Wednesday evening, January 2, "will result in a united action on the part of labor in Stamford which will have national repercussions."

GOVERNOR THREATENS

Governor Baldwin replied yesterday that mass picketing is "unlawful" and would not be permitted. He threatened to "take such action as is necessary" against "disorder or threat of disorder." This was a clear warning that he intends to help break the Yale & Towne strike, which has become a key labor struggle in this whole area.

The Combined Stamford Labor Organizations today issued a public declaration sharply attacking the use of the state troops and charging that Governor Baldwin has "deliberately ordered" the use of these troops "not only to prevent any violence but also to aid Yale & Towne by preventing any picket lines."

The union statement points out that any disorder on the picket lines has been created by the state police who "were on the scene only twenty minutes when they caused seven people to be arrested." It was also pointed out that arrested union pickets were photographed and finger-printed, while Charles Horne, plant superintendent booked on a complaint of manhandling a woman picket, was released without being subjected to the police indignities suffered by the workers.

Mine Disaster -- Murder For Profit

By Evelyn Atwood

In Pineville, Kentucky, on December 26, a major explosion buried alive 31 mine workers in the Straight Creek coal mine. Criminal neglect of the most elementary safety precautions led these miners into a death trap ruthlessly prepared for them by capitalist greed.

Immediately after the disaster, in Washington, D. C. a spokesman for John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers president, declared that the mine owners were directly responsible for the tragedy.

"I have four consecutive inspection reports showing this mine to be dangerous," he said. Kentucky has the poorest-enforced inspection of any state in the union. The inspection service is notoriously dominated by the coal companies."

The UMW spokesman further charged the Federal Bureau of Mines with trying to cover up both state and federal reports of "totally unsafe" conditions and gross violations of safety rules."

Practically everything was in a state of dangerous neglect in the Straight Creek mine. Ventilation was bad, the electrical system and equipment were long in need of repairs. There was no rock-dusting to control combustible coal dust, no fire extinguishers, no safety director or safety organization. There wasn't even adequate first-aid supplies.

See Picture On Page 7

None of the employes had been trained to prepare for possible disaster. There were no operating standards or safety rules.

Some of the most dangerous of these conditions had been pointed out by federal inspectors since last January. But absolutely nothing was done about them. Because of this criminal neglect, these mine workers were doomed in advance to die.

When the disaster whistles blew, a tragic scene unfolded at the mine pit. Among the 400 people gathered there were the weeping wives and children of the entombed men. They held day and night-long vigils in the winter cold. Bonfires were built to keep pots of coffee hot for the rescue squads, the women and children.

Heavy-hearted men, laboring in crews of 20 and wearing gas masks, made strenuous efforts to reach the trapped men through boiling smoke, flame and poisonous fumes. After two days they brought forth nine of the men, all unconscious. One of them died directly after rescue; the others, according to the doctors, are "in mighty bad shape."

The scene in which the rescue work continues for the other 22 men is a dismal one of grime and misery, of clapboard shanties called "homes." Capitalist greed lies like a blight upon these mine workers and their families. Now the final blow has been delivered against one more group of this oppressed section of the working class. Every year, in mine disasters, some 75,000 workers are victims of MURDER FOR PROFITS.

Always, after every disaster, the mockery of an "investigation" proves what every one has known every since coal has been mined to enrich mine owners. The mine owners cynically disregard the findings of federal inspectors who themselves declare they have no power to enforce their recommendations.

In many cases the state inspectors with the power to enforce safety regulations are corrupted by the mine operators through their domination of local political machines. Thus, after each disaster, charges are made against the mine owners as being responsible for the tragedy—and then forgotten.

So brutal and cynical are the wealthy owners about their "expendable" mine workers that they are able to evade all financial responsibility toward the impoverished families of the dead mine workers. A few years ago Kentucky state officials ruled, in favor of the mine profiteers, that compulsory insurance was "unconstitutional."

This leaves the mine workers the constitutional right to sudden and terrible death in mine disasters while their bereaved families are left to starve.

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Detroit SWP Organizer Warns CIO Auto Workers Against Treacherous "Fines For Strikers" Scheme

(The following is the text of the address delivered over Detroit radio station WJLB on Sunday, December 23, by Arthur Burch, organizer of the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

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By Arthur Burch

The fifth week of the battle between the giants, the powerful CIO United Automobile Workers and the General Motors Corporation, finds the union leaders in full retreat. **Business Week**, the magazine of finance capital, boasts that the union is on the defensive, and in all candor, labor must admit this sorry state of affairs.

It is not because the ranks of labor are not solid, nor because the workers are not determined to fight and win. Nor is it because labor has not the support of the vast majority of the American people who would suffer severely if labor experiences a setback in this mighty struggle. It is due primarily to the false policies of the UAW-CIO leadership which fails to grasp the scope and stakes of this titanic and bitter conflict.

The International officers of the UAW have the idea that they can isolate the General Motors Corporation and play it off against its competitors. The union leaders thought that during the GM strike, Ford and Chrysler would take advantage of the opportunity to capture the market for new cars, thus bringing General Motors to terms with the union. This was the whole basis of their strike strategy.

But such strategy belongs to the horse and buggy days, when competition among business firms still existed and the greedy monopolists had not yet strangled the so-called free enterprise system. What the UAW leadership fails to realize is that those days are gone forever. America's sixty ruling families with their system of interlocking directorates, with their complete control of banks, railroads, power plants, steel mills, and every other large-scale enterprise, present a solid front against labor and against the overwhelming majority of the people.

Among their most lucrative possessions, from which they derive exorbitant profits, are the huge auto plants. The auto industry is divided among GM, Ford and Chrysler, who act in unison in fixing wages and prices. These monopoly partners in crime have no business secrets among themselves. Their secrets are all directed against the welfare of labor and the American people.

Fruits Of False Policy

This is common knowledge today. Every thinking person is aware of it except, apparently, the UAW braintrust, which still insists on its false, stupid, childish strategy. Instead of fighting among themselves, Ford and General Motors have acted as a well-trained team, and have been able to strike blow after blow at the union.

Taking advantage of the union's unrealistic policy, General Motors has refused to bargain and has stuck to its insulting offer of a 10 per cent wage increase. Ford meanwhile held out the bait of a substantial wage increase provided the union would first discuss his insolent demands for fining the union as well as the workers who are forced out on strike by company provocations. The UAW leadership took the bait.

Richard Leonard, International UAW representative, on behalf of all the top union officers, agreed to the humiliating proposal of permitting Ford to fire the best union militants and deduct substantial fines from their pay envelopes. Seeing these UAW leaders in retreat, GM at once cancelled its contract with the union, while Ford made further outrageous demands. He insisted on reintroducing the old speed-up and eliminating workers' seniority rights which had been won only through years of bitter struggle. As a final insult, the substantial increase expected from Ford in return for these humiliating concessions proved to be only a cent and a half more than GM had offered.

Thus, through the ridiculous idea that the auto manufacturers could be divided against each other, the UAW not only has lost ground in its fight against General Motors, but has been placed in an ignominious position in its negotiations with Ford. Certainly it has made no headway whatsoever in its fight for the 30 per cent wage increase. This is the bitter fruit of the stupid strategy of the top UAW leadership. No wonder that dismay and consternation have seized the ranks of the workers leading to a wave of revolt against the policies of the UAW officials.

But some people might ask: Won't the union's bargaining position be strengthened if it makes a move to prevent so-called unauthorized or wildcat strikes? To answer this question, we must first of all delve into the cause of wildcat strikes. They occur for a two-fold reason: because of the provocations of the company on the one hand; and, on the other, because the union has failed to take the leadership in protecting the workers against the attacks of the monopolists.

The no-strike pledge of the war years meant an abdication of leadership on the part of the union officials and left the workers with no recourse against company provocations except to resort to wildcat strikes. Where union officers fight for the interests of the men, there is no need for wildcat strikes, and they do not in fact occur. Under a militant leadership, the union has no difficulty in disciplining those few individuals who jump the traces and violate the democratic desires of the membership. In no case should the union collaborate with the company to carry out the union's duty to the membership.

No worker likes to go out on strike, for it means a reduction in his already diminished paycheck. And no small group can ever keep the vast majority of men out against their will. The men see to that through their own democratic processes. Unauthorized strikes occur because the great majority of the ranks favor them against their own top leadership. They occur because the union leaders have forfeited the right to lead by giving up the chief weapon of the union. The Leonard proposal to prevent unauthorized strike means collaboration between the union heads and the company and is nothing less than a conspiracy against union militancy and against the best interests of the workers.

Lessons For UAW Leaders

We, of course, know why the Ford empire, as well as General Motors, is anxious to fire union militants. That is the surest way to undermine the union. It gives tremendous power to one individual, young Henry Ford the Second, who merely through the law of inheritance dominates the fate and destiny of over 150,000 men and women and their families. Possessing no exceptional ability, this young snip rules like the kings of old, with about the same pretensions of divine right. Shall this state of affairs continue? Shall workers suffer still further degradation by permitting the whims of one individual to govern their lives?

His insolent proposals have exposed the false illusions built up by the union leadership that Ford was a liberal and interested in helping the workers. The direct reverse is true. Ford is working hand in glove with the ruthless du Pont dynasty which controls GM. Together they are part and parcel of the tiny group of wilful and money-mad monopolists who are out to crush the unions.

Before taking any steps to crack down on the militants in their ranks, the UAW leaders should learn from the tragic story of the European labor movement. There, too, union leaders in country after country collaborated with the capitalists to stamp out militant action by the workers. With the unions thus weakened, the monopolists then resorted to fascism to destroy the labor movement entirely. The labor leaders were rewarded for their services by murder or the concentration camp. Our UAW leaders should learn before it is too late that the only way to protect themselves from the wrath of the capitalists is to protect the full fighting power of the union which put them in office.

Despite the retreat of the leaders, the ranks of the UAW are holding firm and are determined to win their strike. They have denounced the Leonard betrayal at every available opportunity.

Both the Flint and the Detroit city-wide strike committees have greeted it with hostility. The Press Steel Unit of Ford Local 600 unanimously passed a resolution denouncing it, and it met with sharp opposition at the Ford Local Council meeting. Angered by the low wage offer from Ford, militant auto workers want to bury the Leonard proposal, stop the retreat of the UAW leaders, and take a strong counter-offensive against the monopolists who are out to destroy the union. They realize that is the only way to win their strike for a 30 per cent raise.

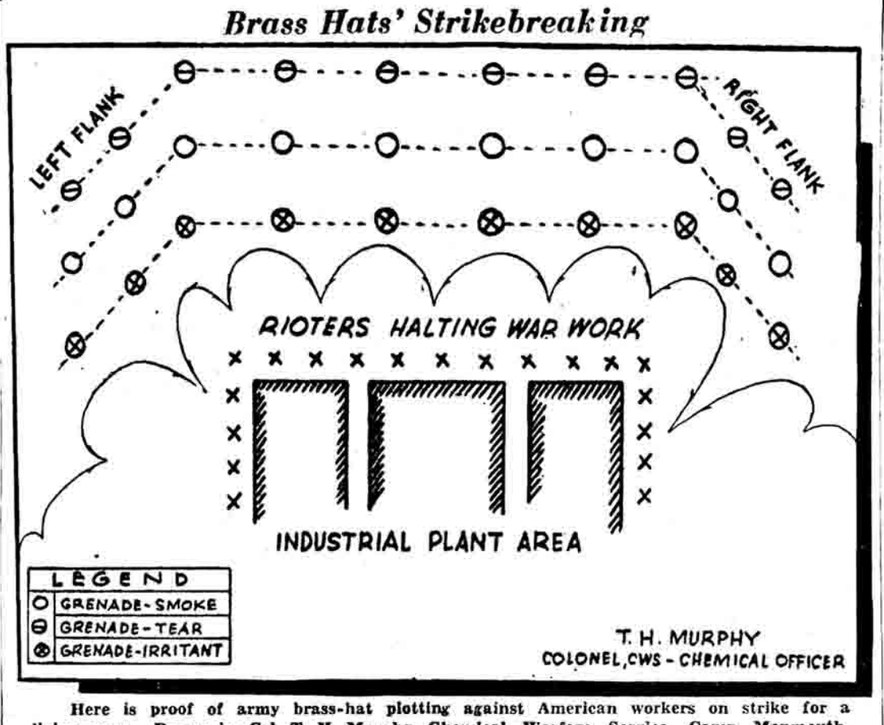
They are demanding that the whole General Motors empire be shut down. The job plants servicing GM are organized by the UAW and should be closed at once. There are 30,000 members of the CIO United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers employed in GM appliance plants who have voted to strike and who should be called out immediately. It has become a major scandal that the Stalinist — that is, the Communist Party — leadership of the CIO electrical workers are preventing their ranks from acting in unison with the ranks of the striking GM auto workers.

Widen The Struggle

But even if all the GM employes are out on strike, they alone should not have to bear the brunt of the nation-wide fight against the monopolists who control not only General Motors but all industry and the government to boot. The scope of the struggle needs to be widened; the initiative must be taken away from the industrialists in a broad counter-attack against the united forces of Big Business. This means that the steel strike, called by CIO President Murray for January 14, be started right now.

The reinforcement of 700,000 steel workers on the picket lines would bring a new wave of confidence to the GM strikers, would force the UAW leaders to halt their retreat, and bring the arrogant bosses to their knees. A steel strike now will assure victory not only for the GM and steel workers, but for the whole of American labor. Once again the American worker will be able to stand erect and march forward to a better future.

Brass Hats' Strikebreaking



Here is proof of army brass-hat plotting against American workers on strike for a living wage. Drawn by Col. T. H. Murphy, Chemical Warfare Service, Camp Monmouth, N. J., this is a plan for military operations against strikers. It calls for the use of smoke, tear and irritant gas grenades. (See story in Trade Union Notes.)

Detroit Strikers Urge GM Office Organization

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the picket lines and return to work.

By and large, these salaried employes have been showing a high degree of solidarity with the strikers, have openly welcomed pickets' demands to stay out of the plants, and have been resisting the corporation's attempts to force them to cross the picket lines. Many have approached UAW members begging that they, too, be organized.

Faced with this solidarity between office and production workers, GM officials have been desperately trying to break it up. A few days before Christmas, the company ran ads in the Detroit papers ordering all office and supervisory personnel to report for work on the morning of December 26. Fearful of losing their jobs, many showed up. But where they were confronted by determined picket lines, they were easily persuaded to go back home.

NO ADMISSION!

Three UAW locals in particular, Fleetwood Local 15, Diesel Local 163, and Detroit Transmission Local 735, were well organized to meet this latest company provocation. At Fleetwood, several hundred pickets, led by John W. Anderson, a recently returned veteran, turned back all who had not been admitted to the plant before Christmas. Through the local's sound truck, the office workers were urged to join the CIO.

Detroit Transmission local likewise kept out all office and supervisory employes who had not been working before Christmas. At Diesel, no one was admitted.

The militant actions of the Diesel workers prompted the company to make a second attempt to break up the lines yesterday. Several battalions of police were assigned to divide the pickets into two groups on either side of the entrance and to keep the driveway open. In spite of the proffered police protection, the office workers and foremen declined to cross the lines.

The only attempts to enter the driveway came from the higher supervisory personnel, such as the plant manager and personnel director. As their cars approached, the several hundred Diesel pickets, aided by reinforcements from Chevrolet Gear and Axle Local 235 and Detroit Transmission Local 735, broke through police lines, and massed in front of the driveway. For the second day, the company attempts to break up the Diesel lines and provoke violence were thwarted by the militant action of the strikers and the solidarity of the office workers and foremen with the union.

General Motors is now going to court to seek a restraining order against the union at both Diesel and Fleetwood, claiming that the pickets are preventing the entrance of office and supervisory employes through "force, violence, threats, and intimidation."

Leo Shaffer, president of Local 163, in an interview with **The Militant**, completely exposed the fraudulence of these charges. Shaffer stated that not only had there been no violence at the Diesel plant, but that several weeks ago the local had offered to permit all office and supervisory employees to return to work. In addition it had acceded to the company's request that the union also send in the required number of janitors and sweepers, who are members of the UAW.

The only conditions made by the local, in return for this concession, were that the company promise that the foremen would not perform any of the strikers' jobs, that in the event of rumors that strikers' jobs were being performed, the union be allowed to send in an investigating committee, and that there be union representation for the janitors and sweepers. Shaffer reported that the company had refused to agree to a single one of these proposals.

Thus it is obvious that General Motors is not genuinely interested in the "right to work" of office and supervisory employes. It is merely using this formula as a pretext to break up the picket lines by court decree, and thereby lay the groundwork for the future use of scabs.

GM Defies Any Investigation Of Its Profits

(Continued from Page 1)

tack on the union's case was clearly revealed by its persistent prodding of the union spokesmen on GM's insulting counter-proposal to institute a straight-time 45 hour week.

LAYING A TRAP

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the government is laying a trap for the auto workers through the Fact-Finding Board stratagem.

The participation of the UAW leaders in the farcical proceedings of this body, which has no power to enforce its decisions on the corporation, is further and further committing the union to the government's eventual decision.

That decision, all the developments indicate, is largely formulated and is in no way related to the facts presented by the union before the Fact-Finding Body. Persistent reports emanate from Washington that the government is planning to propose a wage increase somewhere in the neighborhood of what the corporation itself proposed, between ten and fifteen per cent.

The function of the Fact-Finding Board, which has been given labor sanction by the very presence and participation of the UAW leaders, will be to present this wage proposal in the form of an "impartial" recommendation allegedly based on the "facts."

VIOLATE MANDATE

Reuther and the other UAW leaders are being sucked into a position where they will be impelled, under terrific government pressure and manufactured "public opinion," to accept some miserable "compromise" proposed by the Fact-Finding Board —a Board which the UAW leaders have, in effect, endorsed.

From the outset, the GM workers realized that Truman's Fact-Finding Board order was a trap and the GM Delegates Conference on December 8 rejected this slick method for settling the strike by government intervention.

Thus, the UAW leaders have participated in the Fact-Finding procedure in outright violation of the clear-cut mandate of the GM strikers.

SERIOUS DANGER

When General Motors blandly walked out of the Fact-Finding hearings it was but a further warning to the auto workers that the whole set-up was phony, and that the union was being maneuvered into accepting sole responsibility for any "impartial" decision of the government.

This constitutes one of the most serious dangers to the GM strikers and their just demand for 30 per cent.

The intervention of the government, Truman's arbitrary establishment of the Fact-Finding panel together with his demand that the GM workers end their strike, conclusively demonstrated that the administration is fronting for General Motors.

Let the GM workers stand by their position on the treacherous Fact-Finding Boards! Let the GM workers call on their leaders to immediately withdraw from these semi-compulsory arbitration boards! Stick by the 30 per cent demand and fight it out! There is nothing to gain from Washington—except a miserable sell-out.

Minister Disproves Duluth "No Discrimination" Story

By Grace Carlson

While I was visiting in St. Paul at Christmas time, my attention was attracted by a small item in the **Pioneer Press** about racial discrimination in Duluth. It appears that this northern Minnesota resort city had invited the United Nations Organization to establish its world headquarters there.

Knowing that the delegates from India have forced the UNO to turn down the bids of the South's Jim Crow cities, the Duluth Chamber of Commerce had listed as a prime attraction that "racial discrimination is unknown in Duluth." The newspaper story reported that this statement had been challenged by the St. Paul Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

THE TRUTH

I called Reverend Clarence Nelson, the President of the St. Paul Branch, to get "the news behind the news." He told me that he had had some personal experiences with Duluth's claimed hospitality to colored visitors. The telegram, which he sent to the Duluth Chamber of Commerce on December 22 tells the story:

"Surprised at your statement in cable to the UNO that 'racial discrimination unknown in Duluth.' Discrimination prevalent in large hotels there. Mrs. Nelson and I had our vacation ruined by being discriminated against in a hotel there in October. Reservations were cancelled at another hotel when management was informed that we were Negroes. Suggest that you find out the facts about discrimination in Duluth."

All that remains to be said is that the Duluth trip was to have been a "second honeymoon" for the Nelsons.

And the hotel which denied them their rights was — the LINCOLN HOTEL!

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Bill Morgan

Solidarity in Toledo

Spicer Unit of Local 12, CIO United Auto Workers, Toledo, Ohio, was one of the first local unions to vote cash aid to the General Motors strikers. In a unanimous resolution, the Spicer Unit pledged a $1 per member per week assessment "to give tangible relief to the families of the GM workers who are the front line soldiers of the union in the battle against America's huge and wealthy corporations." Many other local unions have taken similar action.

Despite the soaring cost of living and the reduction in take-home pay the Spicer workers recognize the importance of sacrificing to maintain their union by aiding the struggle of the GM workers. In their resolution they say, "If the General Motors employes can be made reasonably comfortable, both physically and mentally, while they carry on the fight for all of us, we can be assured they will do so. We are all aware that to carry on a strike of such magnitude requires a vast amount of money and the Executive Board feels that $1 per week is indeed a small sum from one who is working, considering the sacrifices the strikers are required to make."

• • •

Brass Hats' Plan

The **CIO News**, December 17, carries a front-page exposure of a carefully concocted Army plan to break up picket lines by smoke, tear and irritant gas grenades fired by skillfully deployed rows of troops. The plan was drawn up and signed by Colonel H. T. Murphy, Chemical Warfare Service, Camp Monmouth, N. J.

CIO President Murray denounced the plan as one of several such reported plans and said that such activity violates U. S. Army regulations. He asked Secretary of War Patterson to investigate alleged preparations of Army officers to intervene in industrial disputes.

The link between the military brass hats and Big Business is one of the most sinister threats to American labor. Unions in a number of cities have protested strikebreaking drills being given selected troops in their localities. **The Militant** has reported several such instances. There can be no doubt, as Murray's latest protest confirms, that Wall Street's military command is preparing to extend its front of operations against the American workers themselves.

• • •

Stalinism in the NMU

The resignation of Ralph Rogers, National Director of the CIO National Maritime Union, blew the lid from still another Stalinist stew of corruption and double-dealing. The NMU **Pilot**, December 7, reported that Rodger's letter of resignation was accepted and condemned as "disruptive."

The Militant, December 8 carried the first revelations on this case. Ralph Roger's letter of resignation charged that the Stalinist NMU administration represented the 1944 WLB decision to the seamen as a "victory" when it actually granted nothing. He further charged that "Meyers, McKenzie and Smith (all leading Stalinists) have all felt that collaboration with our worst enemies, the ship-owners, was the way to handle the seamen's and river boatmen's grievances." He related how he was met with the accusation that he was a "phony" and that he had "sold out to Lundberg (president of the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific) and that I was a Trotskyite."

Charges of wire tapping, spying, "Gestapo" methods against any opposition have also been leveled against the Stalinists.

Unable to answer these charges — **The Militant** exposed the facts long ago—the Stalinist clique replies with the single word, "disruptive."

• • •

Stalinist Scabbery

Once again it is necessary to ask where the Stalinists get the brass to say they are "in the forefront of all labor struggles." After six weeks of the CIO auto workers' strike against GM, the Stalinist leaders of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers are still resisting the strike mandate of their rank and file. 30,000 UE members still working in the GM electrical division, are anxious to walk out and give the GM auto pickets immediate assistance.

Why have the Stalinist UE officials failed to act on the UAW General Motors Conference appeal, adopted unanimously in Detroit on December 8, calling on the UE leaders to immediately strike the GM electrical plants under UE jurisdiction?

This UAW appeal, passed in the form of a resolution, says: "Enemies of labor and agents of Big Business press are now busy spreading lying rumors that we of the CIO are disunited on the issues in this GM strike, in order that they may weaken the solidarity of our ranks and thus defeat our strike." The resolution calls upon the national officers of the UERMW to "immediately recommend to their GM membership that a strike be called at all GM plants under their jurisdiction."

The Militant has repeatedly called attention to this Stalinist aid to the corporation while the auto workers are engaged in a titanic struggle with GM. Let the Stalinists answer: "Why are the UE members working in GM?"

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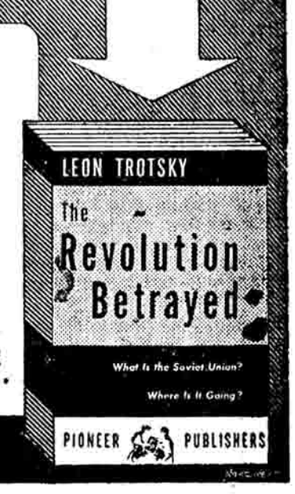

5th Congress Manifesto Of Belgian Trotskyists

II. Towards Genuine Liberation

Editorial Note: This is the second section of the manifesto of the Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Party), Belgian Section of the Fourth International. The first section was printed in last week's Militant. *Although addressed to the workers of Belgium, American workers will find it of great interest. The manifesto was issued by the PCR at its Fifth Congress held November 1-2-3, 1945, at Brussels. The translation is from La Lutte Ouvriere (Workers Struggle), organ of the PCR.*

Kick Out the Liberal and UDB Ministers!
For a Socialist and Communist Government!
Immediate Elections!

Up to now the Socialist and Communist ministers have apologized for their falterings and capitulations by alluding to the pressure of their "democratic" bourgeois allies. But at the same time, the Stalinists consider their alliance with the liberals and UDB (Belgian Democratic Union, a Catholic political organization) as a "democratic union" and defend it furiously. It is time to note that the alliance with the bourgeois "liberals" has not **strengthened** but has in fact **paralyzed** the forces of the working class and blocked every serious step forward. It is time to break the coalition with the party of Henricot, Janssens, Mundeleer and Godding, who are directly in the service of the trusts.

The pressure of the masses, of the rank and file militants of the PSB (Belgian Socialist Party), and PCB (Belgian Communist Party), must force the leaders of these parties to break with the capitalist ministers and to form their own government. The example of France, of England and a whole series of other countries has clearly shown that an absolute majority of the population wants a government composed solely of representatives of the working class parties. The first task of this government will be to organize immediate elections and to enter the campaign with a bold program of socialist demands.

Immediate elections in order to put a halt to the progress of reaction. This means that it is necessary to launch the campaign with a program capable of mobilizing the masses.

Immediate elections in order to forestall a plebiscite for Leopold III. This means posing to the masses those problems which interest them such as the question of the monarchy, the problem of wages, minimum scale pensions, nationalisation, workers' control.

Immediate elections in order to cut short all the demagogic maneuvers of reaction by immediately instituting the vote for women, for youth starting at the age of 18, and for soldiers.

Immediate elections in order to pose clearly the alternatives: a government of working class parties or a government of capitalists.

For the Republic!
Defend Workers' Liberties!
End the Labor Draft!

The monarchy has revealed itself throughout Europe as the principal bastion of capitalist reaction. Behind the desire to preserve the monarchy always lies concealed the preparation for dictatorship. Behind the desire of the laboring masses to put an end to the monarchy is to be found their decision to sweep away the first obstacle on the road leading to socialism.

In Belgium the monarchy has always been a nest of anti-labor intrigue. Five general strikes were necessary to wrest universal suffrage from it. In 1936 and in 1939, the direct threat of a dictatorial government was used by the king to force the reformist leaders to accept a coalition government. Like Leopold, Charles and Baudouin are inextricably linked to the three main anti-labor forces, the trusts, the top clergy and the reactionary officers. The workers cannot help but follow the slogan: **The Republic!**

We must put an end to the reactionary monarchy. But we must also put an end to the labor draft which takes from the worker the only right he has jealousy guarded: that of freely choosing his place of work. The working class must be able to enjoy all its freedoms: freedom to strike, to organize, freedom of the press and assembly, the right to arm adequately against reaction.

The Rex experience and the crisis of the monarchy have clearly demonstrated how big capital controls the press and radio, how it always succeeds in influencing public opinion in a desired direction. We must now tear away its monopoly in this field in order to make "democracy" operate a little more effectively for the workers. Nationalization of the Belga and Dechenne Press Services. Control by workers' organizations, political and trade union, over the INR. Weekly publication of a balance sheet by each newspaper, and trade union control of the books of each publication. Equitable distribution, under workers' control, of paper stocks, printing plants, meeting halls, and radio time, to each working class political organization: these are the first means for cutting short the anti-labor campaign unleashed in the Catholic press with capitalist funds.

Sliding Scale of Wages
Price Control Committees

As admitted even by Minister De Smaele, wages based on the 1938 level are frozen at 220, while prices are oscillating between 250 and 260. This means that the working class must sustain the major part of the losses suffered by Belgium during the war. The Belgian capitalists, however, continue to profit from the wage freeze decreed by the Nazis to lower the standard of living of the workers. This situation must be ended. The first demand of the workers must be this: immediate adjustment of all wages to the cost of living, to the index 260. A minimum scale must be established and all wages below it brought up to this minimum.

But does not the rise in wages automatically produce a rise in prices? Not at all. The rise in wages automatically produces a lowering of the profits of capitalists. In order to safeguard these profits, the capitalists raise prices, automatically **taking away from the workers all the advantages** of their wage increase. The choice is clear: must the pre-war standard of living be re-established? Then wages must be raised without raising prices. Must the profits of capitalism be safeguarded? Then an increase in prices must be allowed after each rise in wages.

The Stalinists wanted to link the increase of wages to an increase in production. But this is in effect the same scheme as increasing prices. Increasing production in a capitalist regime means super-exploitation of the workers and increased profits for the capitalists. **The Stalinists thus insist that an increase in capitalist profits is the necessary precondition for an increase in wages. Stalinist policy, like the policy of the bourgeoisie, is in the direction of maintaining at a lower level the workers' share in the division of the national income.**

Working class politics calls for **the sliding scale of wages.** Once wages are set at 260, they must automatically follow, month by month, every increase in the price index. And in establishing this index we have no confidence whatever in the high functionaries of the ministers, agents of the trusts. The index figures must be calculated by the trade unions on the basis of actual inquiries in working class families. That is the way to conduct a genuine struggle against the high cost of living!

As for agricultural products, price increases up to now have helped only the large middlemen. The small peasants receive 7 to 8 francs a kilo for calves on the hoof, while consumers have to pay 50 francs a kilo for meat in the legal market. This can be remedied only by setting up price control committees, consisting of delegates elected by the farm producers, the housewives, and the small shopowners. They will open the road to a definitive solution of the problem of providing food. This solution is the direct organization of food production and distribution by cooperatives of agricultural producers and wage-earning consumers.

National Planning by the Unions!
Nationalization Without Compensation!
Workers' Control of Production!

The bourgeoisie is incapable of raising the country from the ruins in which it was hurled by the imperialist war. The bourgeoisie thinks only of profits and not of the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. Entire industries are at a standstill. Others are working with old and worn-out equipment. But the capitalists want huge profits immediately and refuse to invest in developments whose long-term returns appear doubtful to them. But the working population of the country has suffered enough from the shortsightedness and selfishness of the capitalists. Genuine reconstruction of the country is possible only on a planned basis. The trade unions must set up a planning commission which will begin its work with a general census of all the resources and wealth of the country. Basing itself on genuine **factory committees**, with all employer influence eliminated, it will set up a general plan for the reconstruction and retooling of industry. Such a plan can be applied only if factory committees really control production in each plant, if the trade unions really control the economic life of the country: **Workers' control of production**, consequently is the necessary precondition for the success of a planning program.

In order to reconstruct the country and increase the well-being of the working population, resources and credit are necessary. These can be obtained only by **nationalizing without compensation the banks** which amassed such scandalous profits during the occupation. In order to break the resistance of the trusts, in order to prevent capitalist profits from paralyzing an increase in production and wages, all the basic industries must be nationalized without compensation. Expose the shameful proposals of "nationalization" made by the reformists and Stalinists, who promise heavy compensation to the coal bosses. These losses have already received in subsidies twice the money value of their mines, and they still need compensation! These indemnities would make the whole burden of "nationalizations" fall on the backs of the workers and would enslave the state by indebtedness to the bankers. Not a cent to the big stockholders, that is the only workers' slogan in nationalizing industry.

At present, unemployment is decreasing. But if the capitalists remain masters of the economy, unemployment will again become the scourge that plagued us before the war. Then it will be too late to oppose it, for in periods of depression the proletariat can generally conduct only defensive struggles. Now is the time when we must impose the **sliding scale of hours of work** as the particular demand which can counteract the danger of unemployment.

Towards New Workers' Struggles

These are what the objectives of your struggles must be. They are already understood and have been assimilated by the whole vanguard in the trade unions, in the workers' parties, in the plants. They must tomorrow become the motive force for great mass action. In order to impose them on the bourgeoisie and its state, the workers can count neither on "Labor Conferences" nor on Parliamentary debates. Only direct action by the workers will force them from the bosses.

But in order to prepare and organize this struggle effectively, the forces of the working class must be united. Trade union disunity is profitable only to the bosses and the bureaucrats. By financing the Christian trade unions and offering certain advantages to its members, the bosses endeavor to perpetuate this disunity. By hanging on desperately to their entrenched positions, the bureaucrats too are delaying a genuine trade union unification. **Immediate unification in the plants and all wider levels,** that is our slogan. Unification must take place on the basis of complete democracy: **the union for its members and not for the bureaucrats.** It must take place not on a purely administrative plane, but on the basis of a concrete program of action: **for a great workers' offensive!**

Nevertheless, powerful trade unions are not enough to attain a genuine working class victory. Victory demands above everything the organization of a conscious revolutionary vanguard **into a political party which can direct the decisive blows against the bourgeois class and its state.** It is not enough to observe that bourgeois politics are rotten. They must be fought by honest revolutionary working class politics.

Only the Fourth International, Trotskyism, has remained Faithful to Socialism

Working class politics of this character was abandoned by the old reformist and Stalinist leaderships long ago. Twenty years after the POB (Belgian Labor Party), the Stalinist party has, in its turn, become a government party. It is now definitely compromised by a permanent policy of class collaboration. Within the government, within the caricatures of "factory committees," the Stalinists no longer defend the interests of the workers against the bourgeoisie but try to reconcile these interests at the expense of the workers. Like the "socialist" partisans of the monarchy, the "communists," having become frenzied partisans of the bourgeois state, of the most unbridled chauvinism and of the monarchy, have lost all sense of shame and bury themselves in the muck of treachery to proletarian ideals and interests.

Only the Fourth International, only the Revolutionary Communist Party, have remained unceasingly faithful to the genuine workers' cause, to Socialism. At first with a few small vanguard cadres, the PCR during the whole period of occupation, under the conditions of illegality, kept up its work in the service of Socialism. Fifty illegal numbers of **Voie de Lenine** (Lenin's Road), thousands of leaflets, numerous pamphlets and publications in French, Flemish, German and Polish, are the irrefutable testimony to its fidelity to the principles of international communism. Its many militants killed by the Gestapo, the death of its two main leaders **Leon Lesoil and A. Leon** in German concentration camps, constitute another irrefutable proof that of all the organizations, the revolutionary vanguard organization represented the most terrible danger for the Nazis. Only the PCR refused all collaboration with this or that bourgeois party, only the PCR championed and defended the interests of the workers, only the PCR constantly appealed to the workers to oppose the class struggle of the bourgeoisie with proletarian class struggle. Only the PCR had the courage, in the midst of chauvinist madness, to defend the principles of international proletarian solidarity.

That is why **the specter of Trotskyism** constantly haunts the bourgeoisie. Strikes break out . . . its' the work of Trotskyist agitators. The colonial peoples rise against century-old exploitation . . . the Trotskyists are to blame. Class conscious workers see in German prisoners of war their class brothers and fellow sufferers . . . Get the Trotskyists! People again are speaking of the real communism of Lenin, about expropriating the capitalists, about world revolution . . . That's the danger, that's Trotskyism!

Yes, that is Trotskyism. For this very reason that the capitalists and exploiters of every color and nationality hate and persecute the Fourth International, **the workers in all countries come and will come in increasingly compact ranks to reinforce the only Workers' International that has remained.** Already it has acquired the distinction of having saved the banner of communism during the period of the worst defeats. Tomorrow it will show the proletariat the way to victory!

Against the capitalists, wars and fascism: for peace, bread and liberty, for socialism and revolution, working men and women of Belgium, unite around the Revolutionary Communist Party.

French Trotskyists Combat Growing Threat Of Fascism

Native fascism is rearing its head in France. Recently in Paris, young fascists demonstrated in the streets. They shouted such slogans as: "Death to the Communists!" "France for the French!" and "De Gaulle to Power!"

The December 1 **La Verité** (Truth), organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Party), reports that fascist bands are forming. The Trotskyist paper points out that "De Gaulle is far from disdaining the support of these fascist bands."

"The birth of the Fourth Republic," remarks **La Verité**, "is accompanied by the sound of boots, as is proper to the child of Caesar."

"The people vote, the capitalists govern," continues **La Verite**; "that was, that still is the secret of bourgeois democracy. But today, for additional security, the ruling class is mobilizing its mercenaries and its armed bands. Democracy is wearing the hat of Bonaparte."

DANGER IS REAL

"It would have been easy," continues **La Verite**, "to again force underground these few thousand amateur supporters of dictatorship—a workers' counter-demonstration would have abundantly sufficed.

"But the French Communist and Socialist Parties, who at present are holding conferences with de Gaulle for a government of 'national unity,' preferred to minimize the fascist demonstrations. 'A few madmen demonstrated,' cried **l'Humanite** (Stalinist organ) and **le Populaire** (Socialist organ), 'but the calm of the population checked them.'"

Despite these soothing declarations, the danger is real. **La Verite** reports that the fascists attacked a meeting of Socialist students. The fascists were angered because one of the speakers had called at a preceding meeting for the independence of Indo-China and for the withdrawal of the troops of French imperialism.

The fascists tried to tear down the red banners decorating the hall. The audience, however, gave battle. The Trotskyists who were present fought side by side with the Socialists against the fascists.

OLD, FALSE POLICY

The French Stalinist and Socialist leaders, declares **La Verite**, "have learned nothing from the tragic lessons of Germany and Italy, and the tragic defeats of the German and Italian workers in the face of fascism. Same causes produce same effects—in those countries too the wish of the opportunist leaders to continue "national unity" and bosom collaboration with the bourgeois government, made them enemies of direct action by the workers. They saw the gravity of the danger and confided TO THE BOURGEOIS POLICE the duty of combatting fascism."

In opposition to such cowardly tactics, **La Verite** proposes a militant program of action;

"Let us not forget: that the fascist coup d'etat of February 6, 1934, could not have been checked without the workers' counter-offensive, without the general strike of February 12. The Stalinists and Socialist parties don't want another February 12, but watch out for a December 2, (day in 1851 when Napoleon III seized power) watch out for Napoleon IV!"

"Two things must now be done—break immediately with de Gaulle, with the bourgeois government, and establish a Socialist-Communist government. And against the fascist bands now forming, **organize a workers' militia.**"

Indonesian Youth Demand Independence

Some of the bravest fighters against British and Dutch oppression are the Indonesian youth. They are shown here, armed only with primitive spears, as they march at an independence demonstration in Jogjakarta, Java. It is such heroic fighters as these that the imperialist troops are trying to suppress.

Bitter Marines Ask End Of Fighting For Chiang

(Continued from Page 1)

Mining Administration. Their wrath has mounted as a "result of an episode a few weeks ago when two landing craft and a destroyer escort were sent out to refloat a mine company barge."

Miners working the Kailan mines are paid the equivalent of about 80 cents to $1.80 a month. "In addition," Lieberman says, "the miners get a monthly allotment of coal, corn flour and white UNRRA flour." This use of relief supplies by private concerns to pay wages heightens the resentment of men stationed in China.

MORALE "LOUSY"

A dispatch to the Shanghai edition of **Stars and Stripes** states that the morale of American marines in North China is "lousy." The paper's correspondent, Dick Wilson, reports "more and more of the Leathernecks are cracking up daily." These men, he says, "who have had too much fighting want desperately to go home and nothing else seems to matter."

In the past few months, Wilson declares, officers have been "frankly afraid the marines' rigid training and discipline would not be sufficient to check the tide of resentment that rose when the men became convinced they were pawns in a political chess game."

He said the troops in China refuse to believe it is necessary for them to guard Chinese railroads and British-owned coal mines.

In an open letter to President Truman, an Army psychiatrist warned of "psychological breakdown" among troops as a result of "being used to stifle the very democratic elements they hoped to liberate."

Wall Street is completely indifferent to the effect of war on American soldiers. Washington is anxious to protect imperialist interests in China and bolster up dictator Chiang Kai-shek. They act as they do because there, as in other parts of the Far East, particularly in Java, the fate of the colonial system in the most populous area of the world is at stake in the outcome of the conflict.

UNREST SPREADS

A conservative organ of Big Business, **The United States News**, in its December 28 issue, warns the imperialists: "If the Javanese people are successful in their challenge to Dutch rule, the effect may be felt through a large part of Asia. Already, in Sumatra, Malaya, Siam and French Indo-China, there are evidences of unrest. Disorders have broken out in India."

This spokesman for American imperialism says that the outcome in Java "may determine what happens to the white man's position in neighboring areas inhabited by hundreds of millions of people."

Wall Street is as anxious to crush the colonial struggles for independence as are the Dutch, French and British. General Marshall "persuaded the Combined Chiefs of Staff to turn responsibility for Indonesia over to Admiral Mountbatten's British forces, leaving General MacArthur free to concentrate on the invasion of Japan," states the **December 28 Foreign Policy Bulletin.**

The British, says the **Bulletin**, "feel the need for solidarity in Dutch, French and British colonial policy." Washington, continues the **Bulletin**, believes Allied "solidarity" is at stake.

This is the "solidarity" of gangsters. Washington plays its part by supplying the French, Dutch and British with trucks, weapons and planes to wipe out the poorly armed colonial insurgents.

Washington raised no protest on receiving a statement by Gen. Sir Philip Christison, Allied commander in the Netherlands Indies, saying "we are compelled to take more active measures." As though bombing towns, strafing the natives and razing to the ground native villages were not brutal enough!

The Allies are bringing the Four Freedoms to the Javanese in the form of American bombs and shells raining down on towns and villages.

Weapons from the "American arsenal of democracy" are also being used by the French in their attempt to regain possession of Indo-China. But, in spite of all-out Allied support, the French have not yet succeeded.

U. S. "GREAT AID"

A December 22 **N. Y. Times** dispatch from Paris reports that "the French expeditionary force in Indo-China . . . now numbers 25,000 men who have established French authority in a perimeter of twenty-five to fifty kilometers (15 to 30 miles) around Saigon."

"In spite of the great efforts of the Americans," the dispatch continues, "the French port capacity was only 10 per cent of its prewar figure."

The French face the most determined and bitter opposition of the natives. According to Colonel Stephen L. Nordlinger, a reactionary officer just returned from Indo-China who was quoted in the December 27 **N. Y. Herald Tribune**, "the natives are well armed . . . and are capable of endless resistance. Their leader, Ho Chi Minh, told me they would stop at nothing short of complete independence . . ."

Trotskyists In Argentina Launch Monthly Magazine

We have just received the first issue of the attractively illustrated, 32 page monthly magazine called **Octubre** (October), published by the Argentine Trotskyists, which bears witness to the resurgence of the Fourth International movement in South America.

In its leading editorial the staff of **Octubre** affirms its conviction that only the principles of Marxism and the methods and traditions of Leninism-Bolshevism can solve the problems of our time.

After describing the development of the Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, **Octubre** calls attention to the fact that only this party published an international manifesto against the second imperialist war.

In 1940 "Stalin's gunmen succeeded in assassinating Leon Trotsky, comrade of Lenin, cofounder with him of the Third International, founder and leader of the Fourth International."

STUPID ILLUSION

"This infamous attack," declares **Octubre**, "was not only intended to still the voice of Trotsky but also the action of the Fourth International. Stupid illusion of corrupt bureaucrats! The Fourth International was not a man, although Trotsky was our greatest militant leader. We said then: Stalin assassinated Trotsky, but the Fourth International will live.

"That prediction has been confirmed," states **Octubre**. "During the war and in the postwar period, Trotskyism has remained in the vanguard of the struggles of the world working class."

The Argentine Trotskyists trace their heritage from "the Third International during the time of Lenin and Trotsky, later the Left Opposition of the Communist International led by Trotsky, and today the Fourth International. **Octubre** will offer the workers of Argentina a clear Marxist position."

The strategic task of **Octubre**, say the editors, is to build a revolutionary party of the working class. "But its editorial staff has no illusions that it will be a simple task, nor does it overestimate its forces. The history of Trotskyism in Argentina offers us many clear lessons.

A COMBAT PARTY

"The first of these is that a revolutionary party cannot be formed without deep roots in the working class. The second lesson is that there is no possibility of retaining the workers who rally to our banner without a consistent political program for the national problems."

Because the Fourth International isn't "an empty name but a world party of combat," **Octubre** "will publish a section entitled 'The World Struggle of Trotskyism,' which will contain information about the activities of our sister parties in the rest of the world.

"**Octubre** hails the Argentine workers, combatants in many glorious struggles. It invites the militants of the vanguard to read it and pass it on to others, to help it with a few or many centavos, to become its partisans and consider the magazine theirs."

In addition to the above section **Octubre** contains "A Month of National Politics." **Octubre** plans to reprint the best theoretical works of the Marxist movement. "Bolshevism and Stalinism," by Leon Trotsky, appears in its first issue.

An article by Victor Guerrero on "The Argentine Bourgeoisie, Imperialism and the June Revolution" is an interesting and enlightening analysis of the recent events in Argentina.

The Manifesto of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, "There Is No Peace!" translated into Spanish, is printed in the November issue of **Octubre.**

We salute the Argentine Trotskyists on the appearance and quality of the first issue of their magazine.

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Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

—Leon Trotsky

The Stalinists Cheer

Wall Street's spokesman, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, is "jubilant" over the results of the Moscow Conference. So are the American Stalinists who have been attacking his imperialist policies.

The December 28 **Daily Worker**, organ of the Stalinists, hails the Conference as nothing less than "A Victory For Vigilance." Actually, it was a victory only for the counter-revolutionary policies of the Big Three.

The Stalinists hail a secret conference that was the very opposite of the diplomacy conducted by the Bolsheviks in the early days of the Soviet Union—a conference resembling those of the Czar. Lenin lashed such secret diplomacy. He branded it as opposed to the interests of the workers. Lenin insisted on conducting the foreign affairs of the Soviet state in the full light of day and only in the interests of the working people of the world.

The **Daily Worker** interprets the conference decisions as in part due to the recent pressure campaigns they have staged. They have, for instance, demanded an end to secrecy on the atom bomb. The conference, they try to make out, is a step toward ending this secrecy. "Foreign Policies Based on Atombomb Didn't Work," says a headline. But Wall Street continues its monopoly control and continues manufacturing the bombs.

The Stalinists have likewise been demanding **"Hands Off China — Bring the Boys Back Home."** The **Daily Worker** now claims "Big 3 Pact Brightens Picture in Far East." But the conference was silent about Indonesia and Indo-China! And in regard to China an agreement was reached to bolster up the reactionary brutal dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek! More American troops are on their way to China.

What must the rank and file Stalinists think when Foster joins the Wall Street chorus in praising the conference decisions?

On December 28, the day after the communique, the **Daily Worker** immediately shifted to the past tense in speaking of the struggles in the Far East. Wall Street "was" intervening in China. The British and Dutch "were" suppressing the Indonesians. The French "were" battling the Indo-Chinese liberation movement. In this way Foster announces his readiness to drop the radical phrases he has lately flung in Wall Street's direction.

The real reason the **Daily Worker** crowed over the conference is hard to find. Stalin's Russian house organs, **Pravda** and **Izvestia**, hailed the secret horse-trading. His American flunkey Foster followed their lead. Browder himself could not have responded any quicker to the Moscow tip-off on the "line." Yet after this disgusting belly-crawling ordered by Generalissimo Stalin, the cynical editor of the **Daily Worker** proclaimed that the American Stalinist machine is "rid of the fawning policy which Earl Browder had foisted upon it."

Help Them Get Home!

On Christmas Day in Manila, 4,000 GI's staged a demonstration. Carrying banners demanding "We want ships," they marched on the Twenty-first Replacement Depot Headquarters. The mass protest was touched off by the cancellation of a scheduled transport sailing for home.

The depot commander, Col. J. C. Campbell, ordered the men to return to their barracks.

"You men forget you're not working for General Motors," he said. "You're still in the Army."

With these brutal words, this Brass Hat revealed how the class struggle is reflected in the armed forces. He understood very well that the soldier-demonstrators belonged to the same class as the GM strikers. He showed his knowledge of the tie-up between the GM corporation heads and the government. He made clear where he stood!

The men dispersed after some ten minutes. According to the press, "A spokesman for the men said another mass meeting protest would be held tomorrow."

This incident is highly significant. Since the cessation of hostilities, the millions of men held overseas by American imperialism have been clamoring to come home.

They bitterly resent being forced to act as policemen for Wall Street's plans of world domination. They do not want the bloody, dirty task of putting down colonial uprisings or workers' revolutions to bolster reactionary, dictatorial regimes.

Braving reprisals from the Brass Hats, thousands of these soldiers began writing Congress demanding action. The stream of mail grew to a flood without stirring Wall Street's political representatives in Washington. The soldiers began stamping slogans on their letters home, such as "No Boats, No Votes," "Write Your Congressman—Get Us Home." The families and friends of the veterans swung into action. Instead of responding Congress took a three-weeks vacation.

Apparently the soldiers have now begun organizing on their own. Circular petitions are said to be going the rounds for signatures. The reference to the "spokesman" in the Manila incident shows that rank-and-file leaders are appearing. The beginning of mass actions by the veterans overseas thus indicate a new stage in the mood of the soldiers.

According to a United Press dispatch, Col. Krieger, personnel officer in the Army forces of the Western Pacific, assured 15,000 men in the Replacement Depots in the Philippines they would be returned swiftly. He made his statement the day following the demonstration. The success of the Manila demonstration will encourage soldiers elsewhere to indicate through stronger means than letters, how they feel.

The Manila incident is not the outburst of an isolated segment of the veterans, but represents widespread sentiment. On the other side of the world from Manila, in Frankfort, Germany, more than 100 Army Air Forces enlisted men, representing a group of 400, marched on Army headquarters on December 27.

Like the Manila soldiers, they protested cancellation of embarkation orders. Like the Manila soldiers they had selected a spokesman to speak for the entire group.

Such demonstrations will undoubtedly occur on an increasing scale, as the soldiers exert pressure for a change in Washington's policy and the speeding up of demobilization.

The desire of the veterans to return should be supported to the hilt here at home.

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

Thomas Complains

CIO United Auto Workers President R. J. Thomas charged on December 29 that all the automobile manufacturers, large and small, are acting in "collusion" to deny the auto workers the 30 per cent wage increase they justly demand.

"There is definite collusion between General Motors and Chrysler," Thomas affirmed, and added that "Ford is sitting on the sidelines waiting to see what happens in the GM case. All of them, and also the smaller manufacturers, are in sympathy with each other. All the others are waiting on GM."

This is a virtual admission by one of its chief authors that the UAW's "one-at-a-time strategy" is proving to be a complete dud. The UAW leaders planned to strike General Motors separately while playing off the other Big Three "competitors," Ford and Chrysler, against GM.

This "strategy," as **The Militant** pointed out from the start of the current auto labor struggle, is based on an utterly ignorant, not to say downright false, conception of the monopoly structure of the giant auto industry.

Every actual development in the GM strike and the simultaneous Ford and Chrysler negotiations has confirmed that GM, Ford and Chrysler, together with the whole cut-throat crew of American monopoly capitalists, have eagerly seized upon the stupid strategy of the UAW leaders and are making the most of it.

It is not the UAW leaders who are playing off the auto corporations one against another. It is the auto corporations which are cunningly playing off one group of auto workers against another, hoping to defeat them piecemeal.

Ford and Chrysler are making no attempt to take a "competitive advantage" over GM and "force it into line" with the UAW's demands, as the union leaders had so naively hoped. They have instituted a series of partial lockouts under the pretext of "parts shortages." They have used their own negotiations to supply GM with new union-busting ammunition in the form of arrogant demands on the union.

Thomas' complaints about "collusion," true enough in themselves, are however merely the lament of a backwoods "labor statesman" who feels he is being "double-crossed" by the auto corporations in whose "magnanimity" and "competitive" spirit he put his trust.

Despite his complaint about the real relationship between the auto monopolies, a relationship entirely at variance with the UAW leader's infantile "strategy," Thomas does not draw the only logical conclusion from his own admission. He and the other UAW leaders are continuing with their same lame-brain "strategy" of "one-at-a-time."

This "strategy" can only continue to undermine and weaken the struggle of the GM workers, isolate them, and confront them with the combined might of the auto corporations. Before it is too late, the UAW ranks must bury this still-born "strategy" six feet under.

The full fighting strength of the mighty UAW must be brought into united action to ensure victory against the combined forces of auto monopoly. That is the only effective answer to the collusion of the "Big Three."

READ
THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL

"Shame on you, Fifi—not to finish your steak when so many people are hungry!"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED, by Leon Trotsky; 308 pp. Pioneer Publishers, 1945; originally published in 1937. Cloth $2, Paper $1.

This edition of "The Revolution Betrayed," written by Leon Trotsky in 1936 while he was in exile in Norway, is just as timely today as when he wrote it. Pioneer Publishers is to be commended on again making available this book which has been out of print for some years.

Up to the day of his death in 1940 at the hands of a GPU assassin, Trotsky was the bitterest enemy of Stalinism precisely because he was the foremost defender of the Soviet Union. His brilliant book is like a double-edged sword. It scientifically explains the "how" and the "why" of the growth of Stalinism. It proves that far from being identical with the Soviet Union, the Stalin regime is its most treacherous internal enemy. At the same time the book serves to mercilessly expose those cowards and capitulators in the capitalist countries who, under terrific pressure from the bourgeoisie, want to write off the Russian Revolution and abandon the Soviet Union in its hour of greatest danger and need.

What are the great achievements of the first workers' state that Trotsky, despite persecutions and vilifications unparalleled in history, defended to the end? The "gigantic achievements in industry, enormously promising beginnings in agriculture, and extraordinary growth of the old industrial cities and a building of new ones, a rapid increase of the number of workers, a rise in cultural level and cultural demands — such are the indubitable results of the October Revolution . . . Socialism has demonstrated its right to victory, not on the pages of **Das Kapital**, but in an industrial arena comprising a sixth of the earth's surface . . ."

But the main portion of Trotsky's book deals with the mortal dangers surrounding these achievements as a result of the degeneration of the first workers' state under Stalin and his bureaucratic caste. Before 1917, "Russia was not the strongest, but the weakest link in the chain of capitalism," wrote Trotsky. Thus, in 1917 when the great proletarian revolution began in one of the most backward countries in the world, it needed, above all, for its protection and growth, the extension of the revolution to the more advanced industrial nations.

When these revolutions failed to materialize, Stalin in 1924 advanced his fatal theory of building "socialism in one country."

The false policies based on this theory led to betrayal after betrayal of the revolutionary struggles of the masses in all parts of the world. Instead of breaking out of its dangerous isolation, the Soviet Union found the iron ring of capitalist encirclement tightened around it. This paved the way for the rise of fascism and the subsequent attack by German imperialism upon the Soviet Union.

Inside the Soviet Union the brutal Stalinist bureaucracy has developed to monstrous proportions. Trotsky shows how this privileged caste fastened itself like a gigantic parasite upon the great mass of underprivileged Russian workers and peasants. He shows how and why the greed of this caste for prestige and power grew. Stalin, representing this caste, murdered a whole generation of Bolshevik leaders who, together with Lenin, had led the Russian Revolution to victory.

Since this book was written, all of these tendencies have become intensified until today the Stalinist bureaucracy, which fears the capitalist encirclement, also stands in mortal terror of its own masses. Stalinist "totalitarianism" has wiped out every vestige of the genuine workers' democracy created by the great Russian Revolution. It has erected, in its own bureaucratic image, an army in which the officer caste, bedecked with gold braid, medals and privileges, is sharply divided from the mass of underprivileged worker-soldiers.

But, asks Trotsky in this book, does this mean that the Stalinist bureaucracy is a new ruling class? His answer is an emphatic "No!" He writes: "Classes are characterized by their position in the social system of economy. The nationalization of the land, the means of industrial production, transport and exchange, together with the monopoly of foreign trade, constitute the basis of the Soviet social structure. Through these relations, established by the proletarian revolution, the nature of the Soviet Union as a proletarian state is for us basically defined."

Trotsky's scientific definition of the nature of the degenerated Soviet state was confirmed in the acid test of war. It was because the basic conquests of the October Revolution still remained that the Russian worker-soldiers fought with such extraordinary tenacity to defeat the German armies. They knew they still had something to defend in the Soviet Union.

But very grave danger still remains. Today American imperialism, the greatest military power in history, has at its disposal such frightful weapons of destruction as the atomic bomb. It eyes the Soviet Union, as it does the rest of the globe, as territory needed for its imperialist expansion. Yet in the face of this enormous external danger to the Soviet Union, Stalin continues to pursue the same criminal policy of collaboration with the capitalists, a policy which has already brought such disasters upon the world working class.

Reviewed by Larissa Reed

Congressmen At Work

Senator Wiley, who represents the cheese interests of Wisconsin, got a Christmas card signed, "Respectfully, From a GI in the Pacific." On one side was engraved a most friendly season's greeting.

But "written in ink on the back of the greeting," declared the Senator in perturbed tones, "there appear the following words which have caused me to rise at this time:"

"Are you having a merry Christmas this year? Senator, ours is quite miserable, thanks for your lack of action on the matter closest to our hearts. A very large number of us, plus our families, are keenly disappointed in you gentlemen of Capitol Hill. You may not like the consequences. Our slogan here is: 'No boats—no votes.' Get the troops home."

Not being able to appease the GI with a personally signed letter because of lack of a return address on this ominous Christmas card, Senator Wiley opened up his oratorical guns on his fellow Congressmen: "Everyone knows that the world is full of incipient fires. The fires in the Far East and in the Near East, as well as in Germany, are apparent to everyone."

What burned up the Senator is the fact that someone apparently forgot to tell the soldiers overseas about these fires: "It

seems to me that in order to maintain the morale of home folks, as well as the men who are away, they should be told the truth. If it be true that the boys cannot be shipped home, they should be told why."

Something else, too, got under Wiley's skin. Why should Congressmen have to take the rap? After all, they only want to hold down their jobs peaceably and do right by Wall Street. "Why," he complained, "do the GI's in the service blame the legislative branch of the Government for the failure to get them home? . . . It is not the function of the legislative branch to operate ships. Neither is it the function of the Legislature of this great country, since the war is still on—peace has not yet been declared—to operate ships and bring back to their homes the men who were sent to fight in distant lands."

An ordinary voter, remembering that Congress voted to plunge the country into the Second World War, might believe Congress is likewise responsible for getting the men back home. Wiley felt especially tender on this point. So, "Mr. President, I wish to say to the GI who wrote the Christmas greeting which I have read, that so far as I know the Congress of the United States has done its job. It is now up to the executive branch of the Government, or to the military first, to bring the boys back in ships which are abroad . . ."

Right in the middle of this high-powered oratory, however, the Senator was apparently struck by a sudden thought—what if the White House didn't like being passed the buck! What would happen then to his share of the political pork barrel? And so this seasoned capitalist politician hastily added a loophole: ". . . . bring the boys back in ships which are abroad, IF in the opinion of the Commander in Chief the boys should be brought home . . ."

With such strenuous problems and disturbing requests, small wonder Wall Street's Congressmen decided to grant themselves a three-week Christmas furlough. They really needed the relaxing atmosphere of a Christmas at home.

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Where Are The Jobs For Veterans?

"There has been a lot of talk about jobs for the millions of men coming back, but nothing has been done to provide them," says a veteran of World War II. He is one of thousands becoming bitterly angry on finding only starvation-wage jobs — or none at all. "How long can a man and his wife exist on $30 a week and support a child or two?" he indignantly asks.

Even jobs at such scandalously low wages are becoming more rare as unemployment mounts. Employment in 11 major cities was surveyed by the conservative **Wall Street Journal**, which drew the following conclusion:

"The rolls of jobless veterans are growing by leaps and bounds across the country . . . Here and there, ex-servicemen are refusing to accept the kind of work available. They want a job with a future."

Veterans are unwilling to return to the low paying jobs such as gasoline station attendants, complains the **Journal** writer. But, he continues hopefully, "a California oil company is confident that they will be around looking for these jobs in a few months when unemployment gets more severe and they've run out of their discharge money."

Employers are banking on hunger to force veterans to accept low-paid, distasteful jobs. After forecasting a drop in industrial production, employment and national income, Isadore Lubin, U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, said on December 17 that unemployment will reach 6,000,000 to 9,000,000 by spring.

Workers and veterans will suffer, not Big Business. A study, submitted to the House Appropriations Committee by Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace, predicted "huge business profits in the next five years despite serious unemployment." Wage and salary incomes will decline drastically, according to the report.

However, corporate earnings will be 100 per cent higher than they were in 1940. After increasing from 10 billion dollars in 1946 to 11 billion dollars in 1947, profits will remain at that level until 1950.

Prospects for the handful of Wall Street bankers are bright. Compare the fabulous income of America's 60 Richest Families with the wages offered veterans.

More than half the jobs listed with United States Employment Service "range in pay from $20 a week to $30 for a 40-hour week," reports the December 21 **N. Y. Herald Tribune**. "Three hundred openings on the USES roster actually offered the veterans less than the $20 they can draw as unemployed relief."

It is true that veterans want better jobs than they had before the war. Many who never had a chance to prove their ability until they were drafted were promoted to corporals, sergeants and master sergeants. Given the opportunity, they know they could learn the skills necessary for more interesting, better paying jobs than they were forced to accept before the war.

Another large group of veterans were youths who were drafted before they had completed school or learned a trade. Many of them have family responsibilities now. They can't live on the beginner's wages employers offer.

From 20 to 40 per cent of the veteran job hunters have no trade. Among them are highly trained pilots who lack the 2,000 hours of flying time required by the air lines. An Army flier, who had acquired a wife and two children during his four years in the service, returned to his old employer, a Wall Street bank. They gave him back his old job as a $22-a-week messenger!

The press, government officials and do-gooders cautiously urge industry to hire more veterans, to "treat the boys right." But none of them advance a program or favor action that would really meet the needs of veteran and non-veteran workers.

Ford's Billion Or Two Sapped From Workers

By Jeff Thorne

The billion-dollar Ford empire is one of the clearest examples of a colossal fortune erected upon the toil and sweat of underpaid and super-exploited workers. For the Ford domain is concentrated in the hands of a single family that started with almost nothing 42 years ago.

No other large corporation has been able to keep its records quite so secret as Ford Motor Company does. It has only seven stockholders today, all in the Ford family circle. It discloses only such information as it wants to, even to the government. Yet nothing can hide the fact that Ford extracted a billion dollars or two from the workers who produced the automobiles, war goods and other products that paid those profits.

In 1903 Henry Ford I had nothing but 17 patents that he valued at $40,000. Today the Ford family is second in wealth only to the Rockefellers, if not the richest in all the world. Ford workers, in contrast, have suffered breadlines, speedup and browbeating by one of the world's most notorious private armies of thugs.

Ford had already become a billionaire 20 years ago. In 1936 the Ford company acknowledged it had made $782,016,144 clear profits up to that time. Since then the Second World War has been the most profitable war in history for Ford as well as other auto magnates. Two years ago Ford Motor Company assets alone were officially reported above a billion (now $1,021,325,159). Considering Ford's enormous holdings throughout the world outside the Ford company, his personal fortune must today be close to $2 billions—all clear profit extracted from workers.

The same workers also made multi-millionaires of the 10 other original "investors" of Ford Motor Company. Henry Ford was able to buy out all these others from his own lion's share of the profits.

For the largest single investment, $10,500 by a banker, John S. Gray, Ford paid $36,585,075 out of workers-produced profits. The smallest investment, $100 by Mrs. Rosetta Hauss, sister of the late U. S. Senator James Couzens, paid off $350,000. Couzens himself, having invested $1,000, received $29,308,858 in addition to dividends ranging from 100 to 500 per cent annually.

Assuming an average working force of 100,000, this means that Ford took between $10,000 and $20,000 from each worker over the past 42 years.

Now these workers are demanding a decent living wage, a larger share of the product of their labor. They have every right to open the Ford books and learn how much they are entitled to.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

"Back To Sea - - For What?" Asks Angry Seaman

Editor:

Yesterday, December 26, I received a telegram from the War Shipping Administration, lamenting the fact that there is a shortage of seamen. The communication demanded that, as an experienced Deck Officer, I should report to Admiral Land's WSA-sponsored fink hall immediately. Troops and supplies must not be delayed, it bemoaned.

Undoubtedly, a replica of this same telegram was received by several thousand ex-seamen throughout the country.

When I left the sea, during the latter part of October, there wasn't a scarcity of seamen. On the contrary, the WSA was laying up ships by the hundreds.

Why all this hullabaloo over a seamen shortage? Can it be that the workers are bringing pressure to bear on the hypocritical War Department, demanding that the troops be withdrawn from the Far East and demobilized?

The Army doesn't intend to speed up demobilization, until the situation in the Far East is under control. But they must have a scape goat for their stalling. So they revert to the old capitalist practice of blaming the workers for everything. They cry (with crocodile tears), "we can't get seamen."

Facts prove that there are plenty of ships and men to sail them. Today there are 15 ships loaded with ammunition, some even loaded before V-E Day, riding at their anchors in the Delaware River. These vessels have been lying there for months, in what the **Philadelphia Inquirer** calls, "The biggest blunder in shipping history." The WSA can't decide what to do with their cargoes. Meanwhile they lie there, a menace to navigation and apt to explode at any minute, while the WSA calmly tells the public of a shortage of ships and men. This bungling and waste is characteristic of the capitalist system.

I'd gladly go back to sea in order to bring soldiers back to take their place in the workers' struggles ahead, but not to carry supplies to Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist army, or to bring back ships to rot at anchor in the Delaware River.

Comradely,

James White
Reading, Pa.

Asks Publication Of Leon Trotsky's Book On Stalin

Editor:

As a subscriber to **The Militant**, I should like to call your attention to a little-known and less talked of book by Leon Trotsky. The title is "Stalin, An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence." It was published by Harpers in 1941.

Trotsky had just finished it when he was struck down. If **The Militant** would publish it in chapter form each week, it would go a long way toward a better understanding of Stalin, and therefore aid new people to see more clearly the role of Stalin and the position of the Socialist Workers Party.

I strongly urge you to serialize it in **The Militant**, and to publish it in book form also if you can. I think it might help your subscription campaign, too.

Yours for a socialist world,

Raymond L. Dey
Hillside, N. J.

TROTSKY'S DREAM

O Working man, O Working man,
Upon your Unions' mighty stream,
Did Trotsky come from realms afar,
To build his golden dream?

And did he plan to found for men,
A Common wealth, a Peoples' State,
Because he saw across the years,
The day it would be great?
And did he contemplate at night,
The shining fields of stars, and see
The Socialism that would grow,
The time that was to be?

Behold the breaking of the day,
The bitter years are nearly run,
Great is your coming destiny
O Labor; battle on.

Sam Brown.

A Soldier Writes Of U. S. Role In 'Liberated' Korea

Editor:

I am sending you some extracts from a letter I received from an American soldier now stationed in Korea. His report will be interesting to **Militant** readers.

A. C.
New York

* * *

When the Koreans found out about the Japanese surrender about August 15, there were wild celebrations and much jubilation —although all of it was short-lived as the Japanese police and army shot up the crowds. The Koreans returned to their homes, hoped that we would come quickly, and they set up various organizations to maintain public order and take over the government as soon as the Japanese were rendered powerless.

Finally, early in September the Americans arrived. Infantry combat troops they were; of Korea and the situation they knew about as much as I do about the atomic bomb. Lt. Gen. Hodge decided that the best thing to do was to freeze the status quo and then proceed to find out what was the matter, but the Koreans didn't see it that way.

They just could not understand why the American army employed their hated enemies to continue the oppression of a "liberated" people. Most disturbed were the liberal and left elements; they decided that wherever they could they would throw out the Japanese without waiting for the cumbersome AMG machinery and establish a Korean government themselves.

One strongly militant socialist party had a great deal of popular support and it proceeded to put its ideas into effect. Of course, to our military authorities this was a violation of Military Government authority, nothing short of a revolution, and as these people were definitely socialist, it was a "communist" revolution. So we sent in our troops and threw these over-patriotic Koreans out and put back the Japanese and the Japanese collaborators. As high advisors to Lt. Gen. Hodge they were chosen men who were "safe." I don't have to tell you who they were. To make a long story short, we have in a bare two months succeeded in alienating the vast majority of the Korean people.

As yet, only a small number of officers trained in Military Government have arrived, and even these are very poorly equipped. A consistent, overall policy is what is urgently needed. But the infantry and Military Government people know of but a single policy: "suppressing communism." By that they mean all elements left of center. For example, last week, I was asked to check through a newspaper published here in Japanese. When I asked what to look for, it was not to check on the attitude of the Japanese, but to see whether it contained any "communist" propaganda. After a short stay here in Korea, one gets quite discouraged about the whole thing.

Unite For The Victory Of Labor!

Editor:

Today the workers of America are faced with mass unemployment. The government can give no answer to the question of where jobs are to come from, while war plants continue to close down.

The capitalists are employing every method to safeguard their profits, thus assuring the workers that they will continue to be ill-housed, underpaid to suffer from inequality and from all the other evils that belong to capitalism. It has never been more important for the workers of America to realize that united, all power is theirs, but that no single group of workers can ever conquer the overwhelming evils of the capitalist system. They must stand firmly together, united for the victory of labor.

I want to remind all workers to beware of those spreading race and religious hatred; those capitalists seek not to help, but to divide, conquer and destroy the power of America's working class.

For example, think of Bilbo of Mississippi. At every opportunity he slanders the Negroes; he carries on an endless fight to portray the colored man as an undesirable man, unworthy of a place in the land that he was born in. Why does he carry on such a campaign? Why is Bilbo fighting the Civil War in 1946?

The answer is simple. As a tool of the capitalists, Bilbo seeks to pit white against black, thus dividing the power of the working class and insuring the safety of the capitalist class at least for a little while longer.

Workers must recognize such things as the weapons of the capitalist against the workers. What does any white worker have to gain by discriminating against any other worker—Negro, Jew, Catholic or any other sect? All are workers and desire the same thing from the bosses. Why then should the battle not be fought together? That's fighting to win, because the workers united always outnumber the bosses.

So long as the capitalists can divide the working class, their aim is won and the workers lose their rights. Today the workers of America are standing at the door of greatness—a greatness not of military might but of economic security. We need but to unite to open the door. We must realize that in a country where all the great wealth belongs to a group of families, the necessity of earning a livelihood is a powerful and ever present force. The capitalists are forever thinking of ways and means to increase their profit, which means to lower the standard of living for the workers. Thus the finest things in life, the luxuries and comforts, belong only to the capitalists — and without their participation in production.

It is difficult to arouse the workers of America for an offensive when the capitalists employ every method of weakening organized labor. It is every worker's duty to put aside personal issues, regardless of how important he thinks they are, lest we all be destroyed under capitalism.

Every intelligent worker realizes that the capitalists cannot provide jobs for all workers. They never have, can, nor will. Jobs are available only during wartime when the bosses can make huge profits from our labor. Today, factories and plants are closing. The bosses relax in luxury while former workers are unemployed, with no assurance of finding a job at pay sufficient to meet the high cost of living (which also fattens the capitalists' bank account).

The factories operated day and night producing weapons of death to destroy men, women, boys and girls. But today those factories are closed; only a few are reconverted for peacetime production.

All factories should be operated to produce the things needed by the working class; things which they cannot afford under the present system.

Workers unite, now while there is still time. Unite to fight a winning battle for the workers over the worn-out capitalist system. Any worker who does not know how he can join in the fight for labor is invited to visit the Socialist Workers Party office at the address in his city, shown in the Branch Activities Column.

Victor Howell
New York, N. Y.

On Reading Trotsky's "History Of The Russian Revolution"

Editor:

Comrades of the Buffalo branch of the Socialist Workers Party told me I had a treat in store when I read Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution. I've just finished it, and can say theirs was no overstatement.

This is a masterpiece from every standpoint — literary, Marxian, and as an account of one of the most important events in the history of mankind. No other person was equipped to do this work in the manner in which it was accomplished. As the greatest living Marxist at the time he wrote, only Leon Trotsky could have written such an account, with such authority, penetration, observation, and scrutiny into the factors and events leading up to the October revolution. The clarity, the apt commentary, the vivid style, delicious irony, the impelling phraseology made the reading really fetching. This was one history which was not a dry rendition of events, but a brisk, urgent and inspiring one.

Employing the X-ray of the Marxian dialectic with a master hand, Trotsky adds real value to this work, and thus makes superclear the significance of this great event. We get to the inside, to the very core as it were, of those hectic times, and see the events as they occur in the proper perspective. If only a Marxist could write a history of the Russian Revolution, only Trotsky, a living and active witness of the times, the second greatest Marxist of his day, could do it full justice.

You live vicariously through the stormy days of October 1917 in reading this book. You are one of the soldiers and workers who triumphantly storm the Winter Palace. You feel the full significance of, and grasp the real meaning behind the revolution. You understand the power of the oppressed and the new world it can build. You get courage and inspiration for the task of those of us here in America.

Leon Trotsky's book is a fitting climax to a rich career, and a monumental testimony to an immortal genius.

Mike Ross
Buffalo

Marines Bitter At U. S. Intervention In China

Editor:

The following letter from an American Marine to his father was entered into the Congressional Record by Rep. Vursell of Illinois on December 3. It gives first-hand information — and expresses vigorous protest — on the use of American armed forces in China.

J. H.
New York, N. Y.

* * *

Tangku, China
November 13, 1945

Dear Dad:

This letter is meant mainly for you. I'd like to have you pass it on to the St. Louis papers, or one of them, and put your name on it, or the usual "officer's name withheld." Here's the scoop:

Today General Wedemeyer stated that the marines would remain in North China until the "unsettled affairs are settled." That means that we must repatriate the Japs at the rate of 76,000 a month for 33 months as there are 2,500,000 of them here. That means we are protecting the Chinese nationalists from the Communists. That is the truth. We are preventing the Communists from controlling this area until the Nationalists get here. In short, we're deciding what government China should have. We are doing exactly what we told Russia not to do. No wonder they don't trust us in Russia.

Third, today a Jap came up to one of our officers and asked, "I'm looking for some Standard Oil men to come in here. I want an inventory before they arrive." We're protecting their tanks against the Chinese communists.

Fourth, we are protecting the Japs from the Chinese. Boy, what a set-up.

Now, then, a few arguments that we out here feel are justified:

1. Are Americans repatriating Germans out of Russia? Or are Russians repatriating Japs out of China? Both answers are "No." China now has troops enough for repatriation. The Japs are disarmed and completely willing to obey their Emperor's order. My point is that the United States job is finished here. We accepted the Jap surrender, but we are in an Allied nation and they should take care of their own repatriation problems. Russia is doing it, so can China. A question: If Russia was threatened by civil war would we rush troops in there to prevent it? Well, that's just what we're doing here. Are Wedemeyer and Truman using the repatriation as a pretext for actually settling Chiang's revolution for him? The price for it is keeping a corps of marines here under an Army commander who will keep us here while sending his own troops home. Dad, if I could only impress you with the bitter hatred that exists among the marines over this, perhaps you could understand how we feel.

2. Is the foreign policy of America going to be that of preventing revolutions in other nations? We are following that policy now in China. Soon this war will break and we'll be in the middle of it, unable to get out. We are protecting Chiang's men and cities now, but when the Communists start trouble we can't prevent them from taking over. We are being eased into war with these Communists because if they shoot at us, as they have and will, we must shoot back. It is rotten, Dad, and you people must act and act at once. The only thing to prevent the inevitable is for Chiang and the Communists to call off the war. It looks from here as though even that is too late.

3. Is our Navy to be used for ferrying supplies to the Dutch in Java or for getting our troops home? Sure, the Dutch are in trouble in Java, but the British have ships as do the Aussies and French. We have a great fleet, but when a group of ships carrying United States troops are stopped at Hollandia, the troops ordered off, and supplies for Java put aboard, then it is time to call a halt. That little story we got from our First Marine Division news sheet.

Well, Dad, there you have it. Am I griping too much, or am I asking the same things you are? What the hell is the trouble back there? . . . Byrnes says, "All marines in north China will leave immediately." Wedemeyer says a couple of days later, "All marines will remain in China until the unsettled affairs are settled." What the devil is coming off? We, yes we, are the ones who should say: We're here, not in Washington . . .

Today Wedemeyer says, "A few clashes between marines and Communists have taken place. It is regrettable." You are damn right it is regrettable. A few marines have been hurt. Sure, he'll keep the marines here while the Army goes home.

Dad, I've written a lot. I've made my words and sentences strong. I don't like to swear in writing, but I'm boiling and so is everyone else. We've all been writing home . . . We will assist other nations, but we will not run their governments. We can't do everything and we can't carry the whole world on our shoulders. So forgive me if I seem bitter or seditious, but this sort of thing must stop, and you people must force the withdrawal of marines from China, before some of our men, possibly me or anyone, gets his Purple Heart for doing China's job for the Chinese for no purpose or reason.

Best of luck, Dad.

Your Son.

Pioneer Notes

Some time ago a friend from Baltimore sent in an order for several pamphlets. Afterwards he subscribed to **The Militant** and thus came in contact with Socialist Workers Party members in Baltimore. A letter from the Baltimore branch this week tells us this interesting story:

"You will be interested in how M. became acquainted with our literature. He was at the Pratt library here in town and came across the **Labor Party** pamphlet. He liked it very much, and especially commented on Gray's cartoon of Roosevelt sitting on Wall Street's lap. As he looked at it he said to himself, 'By God, here's one group of people that weren't taken in by that faker.' That's what prompted him to write to you for the pamphlets, and later to subscribe to **The Militant.**

* * *

From San Francisco we have a very good report on literature sales during the recent **Militant** subscription campaign:

"The San Francisco branch held only four Sunday mobilizations in this campaign, during which we sold 340 subs and 137 pieces of literature. The ratio of pamphlets to subs was about 40 per cent. The pamphlet sales were as follows: **Jobs for All**, 53; **Negroes in the Post-War World**, 41; **The Struggle for Negro Equality**, 26; **American Workers Need a Labor Party**, 11; **A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow**, 6.

"You will notice that the bulk of our sales are those dealing with the problems closest to the Negroes. The reason for this is that in this campaign we spent most of our time in the Negro areas. We could have sold many more copies of **A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow** if we had had them on hand. The East Bay comrades concentrated on selling **Jobs for All**, of which they sold 32. I estimate that the rate of sales was three pamphlets per hour."

* * *

Order pamphlets from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Akron Workers Back GM Strike

AKRON, O.,. Dec. 22—Akron labor is standing solidly behind the auto workers on strike against General Motors. The Industrial Union Council has voted unanimously to arrange a mass meeting to hear first hand reports of the latest developments from leading officials of the United Auto Workers Union.

The mass meeting is designed to show the solidarity of the workers in this area with the General Motors strikers who are spearheading the fight of all American labor. In all likelihood it will be held in the next few weeks, or as soon as arrangements can be made to obtain suitable speakers.

Should any other large unions such as the Steel Workers go out on strike prior to the time of the meeting, representatives of these unions will be invited to address the meeting. It is certain that the meeting will turn out to be a powerful demonstration of labor solidarity between the workers in this area and the striking auto workers, who are in the front lines of the battle to win a decent living for all workers.

The subscription coupon on page two of **The Militant** has served as an excellent introduction for workers who clip and mail it in after having read a copy of the paper.

In the past two weeks we have received approximately a dozen coupons for both six-month and one-year subscriptions from such widely separated cities as Wickenburg, Arizona; Fredonia, New York; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Youngstown, Ohio, etc.

G. A. Johnson of Wisconsin sent in for 2 six-month subscriptions for friends in Mead and Usk, Washington. Many new readers of **The Militant** get their initial acquaintance with the paper through friends, and they in turn become **Militant** boosters.

* * *

Len Miller of Baltimore, one of our new sub-getters, sent in some brief remarks which strike a note familiar to other former novices:

"I have always thought that Baltimore was conservative and backward, sheltering itself from the ideas of most big cities. Now that I have canvassed for subs my impressions are quite different.

"Everybody I met and discussed the contents of **The Militant** with, seemed willing to think and talk. Their minds have just been dulled by the capitalist papers. It was a good experience, and one which I'm most anxious to continue."

* * *

Although our National Subscription Campaign ended about three weeks ago, our comrades and friends remain very active in obtaining more and more readers for **The Militant**. Some top branch scorers this week are:

Detroit—18 six-month, 1 one-year
Youngstown—17 six-month
Minneapolis—1 six-month, 4 one-year
Kansas City—5 six-month
Chicago—3 six-month
Los Angeles—3 six-month
Reading—1 six-month, 1 one-year
Cincinnati—2 six-month
San Francisco—1 six-month, 1 six-month renewal and 1 one-year renewal

A Detroit subscriber sent in this interesting comment: "I am enclosing $1 for a one year renewal of my subscription. **The Militant** dares to tell the truth on the labor issues, and I am very grateful to your canvasser, E. Logan, for having introduced the paper to me. The bought press which I also read has that one-sided tint in such a smooth way.

"In addition to the factual labor news, **The Militant** also contains information that I can't find in other papers no matter how hard I look."

* * *

H. Spangler of Connecticut reported the following incident: "We distributed **The Militant** during a lunch recess of the State CIO convention with great success. **The Militant** was received very warmly by the workers, much to the distress of the Stalinists who were quite taken aback by the workers' reaction.

"The most gratifying thing was when a delegate from Hartford approached me for a sub. As you know, **The Militant** is getting around in Hartford; we have sold many subs in that area. This worker told us he had heard about the paper and was anxious to get it at his home.

"Still another worker from the Colt Arms plant came over to me and said that he had a subscription and was very enthusiastic about **The Militant.**"

Flint, Mich.

All Militant Readers Invited To

Socialist Workers Party Meeting

Sunday, Jan. 13:

Charles Jackson
"The Negro's Stake In The GM Strike"

YWCA
First Street And Harrison

8 p.m. *Admission Free*

OUR PROGRAM:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!
A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!
Government operation of all idle and government-built plants under workers' control!
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

No restriction on the right to strike!
Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!

3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

Down with Jim Crow!

5. Working class political action!

Establish the workers' and farmers' government!
Build the independent labor party!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

No taxes on incomes under $5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
Trade Union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

Now on Sale

Fourth International

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New York 3, New York

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☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.
☐ To obtain further information about your organization.
☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

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Senator Says State Department Suppressed Report On Germany

Buried in the files of the State Department is an official report on conditions in Germany evidently of such shocking and sensational character that it has been pigeonholed as "secret." Even the simple fact of its existence might have remained completely unknown to the public had not Senator Eastland of Mississippi decided to make a speech in Congress on December 4.

Eastland, of course, is one of the most reactionary spokesmen of American capitalism. His rantings against the Negroes and Jews are as notorious as his hatred of the labor movement. His reference to the secret report were part of a most vicious and slanderous tirade against the movement for socialism. But his revelations, like those of any other enemy of labor in public office, deserve close appraisal.

"A number of weeks ago," declared Eastland, "Mr. Hoover and a committee of experts appointed for the purpose, submitted to General Clay a report on German industry, in which were given figures on the industrial production necessary to leave to that country an industrial output sufficient to feed and clothe its population. This report was at wide variance with the policies and plans of our own Government. In fact, I am informed it took issue with proposals of our Government, and showed that our policies would cause grave hardship, starvation, and human suffering abroad. The report was immediately marked 'Secret,' and was not released and has not been released to the American people."

Eastland, however, managed to get a copy of this report. "At first the State Department refused to furnish me a copy . . . stating that the members of the American Congress had no right to the information therein contained, but yesterday, through the intercession of a high official of the State Department, the report was given to me, with the understanding and the promise received from me first, that the information therein would not be made available to the people of this country."

Nevertheless, in his subsequent remarks, Eastland, apparently carried away by his fear of the "ghouls of revolution," made a few declarations that undoubtedly were based on the secret report. "Terrible conditions exist in Germany," he said, "a great tragedy is in the making . . . a catastrophe which threatens western civilization itself has been set in motion." By "western civilization" Eastland, naturally means the rotting capitalist system, including racial segregation and discrimination.

FEAR OF REVOLT

"Communism is the only beneficiary of starvation and vast human suffering," continued the Mississippi Senator. "If we permit wide starvation in Germany, if we attempt to destroy the German people, hold down their standard of living to low subsistence levels, and destroy their culture and self-respect as a people, Germany will be driven into the arms of communism." Eastland's concern over the frightful conditions in Germany are thus revealed not as humanitarian sentiments but as the fear of a calculating political representative of American imperialism before the revolutionary consequences of their own policies.

"The western powers cannot permit the German Reich to become a satellite of Russia," declared Eastland, apparently speaking in the light of what he had just read in the secret report. "The Communists know that a hungry, chaotic Germany will and must embrace communism, and that a Soviet Germany will lead to the Sovietizing of the smaller nations of western Europe and the collapse of democracy outside Britain and the United States."

Eastland clearly reflects Wall Street's fear that the European masses will succeed in breaking through the dam of counter-revolution erected by Stalin and the Anglo-American imperialists.

Eastland grinds the axe of a section of the American capitalists—the cotton interests. His primary concern is the loss of the German textile market as a customer for raw cotton. In the 1920's, he remarked, "Germany took more than two million bales of American cotton" a year. And he added: "South American trade is important, yet our trade with Germany—one nation—is traditionally greater than our trade with the whole continent of South America."

Representing the cotton interests, Eastland sought to put pressure on the dominant inner circle of Wall Street in hope of effecting a change of policy toward Germany. "Whether we like it or not," he said, "Germany is the keystone of the structure, and Germany and western Europe must, by all means, be kept within the folds of democratic, freedom-loving Christian society which follow the private-enterprise system."

EASTLAND

Eastland at times sounded panic-stricken. Evidently the secret report must contain startling information. "No matter whether we have atomic bombs or not," declared this Southern Bourbon, "we are not strong enough to stand against a world organized against us. I shudder to think what a union of Russia and Germany under the banner of communism would mean to the peace of the world. Why, Mr. President, that would be the most powerful combination in the world."

EASTLAND SHUDDERS

Eastland's conclusion harmonizes with Wall Street's plans to eliminate this threat to its world domination by proceeding against the Soviet Union: "The American people must realize that Russia is a predatory, aggressor nation, and that today she follows the same fateful road of conquest and aggression with which Adolf Hitler set the world on fire."

If the secret report in any way resembles the speech Eastland made after reading it, the State Department's reasons for burying it are obvious. The secret report deals with some of the realities of the European situation. It deals with the fermenting rebellion of the working class in Germany and it probably cold-bloodedly discusses how much food should be sent to stave it off.

The State Department, however, banks on more forceful means. Otherwise why maintain American troops in Europe? Wall Street thoroughly understands that its resources will be strained to the utmost in its efforts to suppress the gathering unrest in Europe. It fears the coming test of strength. Eastland's speech confirms this fact.

Lessons Of 1919 General Strike Given In "Fourth International"

Union militants participating in the present strike struggles can learn a great deal from "Lessons of the 1919 Seattle General Strike" by William Simmons in the December issue of Fourth International.

"The Seattle General strike stands out to this day as an important signpost in American labor history," Simmons declares. "It was the first general strike on the American continent. Extending to the nearby cities of Tacoma and Aberdeen, it tied up an entire fair-sized city from 10 a.m. Thursday, February 6 until noon on Tuesday, February 11, 1919."

The general strike came in the wake of war demobilization. Just as Big Business is today attempting to "housebreak" the unions, so an "open shop" offensive by the employers was then clearly in the offing.

The workers of Seattle gave their answer to the bosses' assault. About "65,000 workers, members of 110 different, regular AFL unions, all of organized labor in the city, came out solidly after a referendum vote carried by overwhelming majorities." They were joined by other organized and many unorganized workers.

The strike was "headed by a General Strike Committee, composed of three delegates from each local union, plans were laid, and executed, concerning not only the immediate issues of the strike but the important affairs of the city as well."

The General Strike Committee governed the city. Permission had to be obtained from it for any activity. Exemptions were granted to hospitals, firemen, drug clerks and garbage collectors so that the health of the city would not be impaired.

But "wherever exemptions were granted the specific handling of each problem was turned over to the union concerned," says Simmons. "All exemptions carried large signs of authorization by the General Strike Committee. No other authority had any real force during the fateful five days. No other power really prevailed but that of the strike."

The strike tied up everything in the city. Bosses and their press characterized it as a "Bolshevik revolution." Although the strikers were inspired and influenced by the great Russian October Revolution of 1917, the general strike was called to support the struggle waged by 35,000 shipyard workers for higher pay.

Today when the American working class faces similar problems, questions such as those posed by the Seattle general strike are bound to assume major importance. "The present generation of trade unionists can learn from the experientes, the successes as well as the mistakes" of the 1919 Seattle general strike, concludes William Simmons.

IMPENDING VISIT OF G. L. K. SMITH MAKES AKRON WORKERS ANGRY

By Milton Genecin

AKRON, Dec. 22—Akron labor is preparing an appropriate welcome for Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith. While it is not yet known exactly what date this labor-hater is due to arrive here, the union movement is already laying plans to give him a real greeting, if he does show up.

At its last regular meeting the CIO Industrial Union Council adopted a resolution calling for the formation of a city-wide committee of representatives from every union local. Each local union is being urged to form a committee to take part in the preparations for an anti-fascist demonstration. All labor organizations will be invited to participate.

Just exactly what form the demonstration will take has not yet been decided. Smith's arrival is expected some time in January, which will give the various committees time to get together and plan appropriate action.

WORKERS ANGRY

At the Council meeting some delegates proposed that the hated Smith be met before he reaches Akron and be safely escorted elsewhere. The delegates figure that the workers here are in a mood to treat Smith pretty roughly, if he tries to put on one of his anti-labor shows in this working class town. Other delegates were in favor of picketing the hall in order to prevent anyone from getting inside.

President I. H. Watson, of Firestone Local No. 7, was particularly outspoken in his denunciation of Smith. "Akron wants no part of a rabble rouser who is anti-labor, anti-Jew, anti-Catholic and anti-American. He has left a trail of strife and trouble by sowing his seeds of discontent and hatred wherever he goes," he asserted.

Recalling the picket line of 20,000 workers who greeted Smith at one of his Los Angeles meetings, President George Bass of Goodrich Local No. 5, said, "They took care of Mr. Smith in good fashion in Los Angeles. Akron should be no less efficient."

Stalinists In Youngstown Attack Two Trotskyists

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Dec. 21—Local Stalinists tonight attempted to drive distributors of **The Militant** off the street by slugging them and tearing the newspapers from their hands.

Two workers, one of them a girl, were distributing **Militants** in front of Ukranian Hall where the National Secretary of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, Williamson, was speaking on the coming steel strike. Suddenly they were jumped upon and some of their papers destroyed. A bit later a whole gang emerged from the meeting and renewed the attempts. They stated that they didn't believe in free speech for Trotskyists and delivered an ultimatum: "Get away or get beat up."

The meeting itself was a commentary on the discredit into which the Communist Party has sunk in these parts. Once a powerful force in the valley, it no longer has a large following. Although this meeting, addressed by top party officials on a subject of immediate importance, was widely advertised by handbills given out at the steel mill gates and by posters throughout the city, it was attended by only 32 people, including the five speakers.

J. G. Wright Winds Up Tour In Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 23—Despite bitterly cold weather, more than a score of intensely interested working men and women heard John G. Wright, Associate Editor of **The Militant** and **Fourth International**, lecture here tonight on "The British Elections — their Meaning for American Workers."

This meeting, concluding the national lecture tour by the well-known Trotskyist spokesman, was also the occasion of the first public meeting to be held by the Pittsburgh branch of the Socialist Workers Party in its recently established Militant Reading Room at 5905 Penn Ave., East Liberty.

This public meeting will be followed by regular monthly open forums here at which the Trotskyist point of view will be presented on current political developments.

Detroit Branch Announces Two Winter School Classes

DETROIT, Mich. — The Winter School of the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party will open on Thursday evening, January 17, with the first in a series of two classes to run for a four-week period. The classes, open to party members and friends, will be held every Thursday at the Detroit Branch Headquarters at 6108 Linwood Avenue.

At 7:00 p.m., Comrade Grace Carlson will lead a class in "How to Prepare for a Speech." The first session will be devoted to practical instruction on "Where to Look for Material on the Subject." During the three weeks following, this class will cover "The Use of Reference Books and the Library;" "Selection and Organization of Material;" and "Preparation of Notes for the Speech."

Also on Thursday evenings, at 8:15 p.m., a class on "The History of the Russian Revolution" will be led by Comrade R. Carli. Comrade Carli's lectures will start with the formation of the Bolshevik Party in 1903, and go on to cover the Russian Revolution of 1905, the February 1917 Revolution, the July Days, the October Revolution, the period of capitalist intervention, the formation of the 3rd International, and the rise of the Stalinist Bureaucracy.

A fee of 50 cents will be charged for each four-week class, or 15 cents per single session. Registration is already underway. Applications should be turned in at or mailed to the Socialist Workers Party, 6108 Linwood Avenue, Detroit 8, Mich.

New York Open Forums
Sunday, Jan. 6

Downtown:
"Veterans and Organized Labor"
Speaker: Charles Carsten
116 University Place 8 p.m.

Harlem:
"African Struggles"
Speaker: Cliff Evans
103 West 110th St. Room 23 7:30 p.m.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM — by James P. Cannon

Previous installments of Comrade Cannon's book described the emergence of the American Communist Party out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919, the expulsion of the Trotskyists in 1928, the formation of a new party and the Minneapolis Strikes of 1934. In 1935, the Trotskyists turned their attention to a growing left wing tendency in the Socialist Party.

SUMMARY OF OUR EXPERIENCES IN THE S. P.

Following the convention, we were put right up against the gun. For the second time we were deprived of our press. We still hesitated to bring things to a head because in addition to our general unreadiness, the work of the Trotsky Defense Committee was still uncompleted and we were afraid of jeopardizing it by a premature split. There again Trotsky showed his complete objectivity. Trotsky, who certainly was concerned from a personal as well as political point of view in the issue of the Moscow trials, wrote us: "Of course, it would be a little bit awkward to have a split now in view of the work of the Commission of Inquiry, but that should not be a consideration. The most important thing is the work of political clarification and you should let nothing stand in your road."

Trotsky encouraged us and even incited us to go forward to meet their challenge and not permit them to push us any further for fear it might lead to disintegration of our own ranks, demoralization of the people whom we had led that far along the road. We proceeded cautiously, "legally," at first. We demonstrated that we could have a press, and a pretty effective one, without violating the ban on publications. We worked out a system of multi-copied personal letters and branch resolutions. An ostensibly personal letter, evaluating the convention, was signed by one comrade and addressed to another. The letter was mimeographed and discreetly distributed in the branches. Every time an issue arose, a new stage of development in the Spanish civil war, a resolution would be introduced in a New York branch by an individual comrade, then mimeographed and sent to our faction groups all over the country as a basis for their own resolutions on the question. We had no press. They had the whole machinery of the party. They had the national secretary, the editor, the labor secretary, the organizers—they had the whole works—but we had a program and a mimeograph machine and that proved to be enough.

We Fight Against The "Gag" Law

Our faction everywhere was better informed, better disciplined and better organized and we were making rapid headway in recruiting new mmebers into the faction. Then our moralistic Socialist "democrats" gave the party a real dose of democracy. They passed the "Gag" Law. This was a decision of the National Committee to the effect that no more resolutions could be introduced in branches about disputed questions. They had in mind particularly the Spanish civil war—a little incident in their minds. Then we revolted in earnest and began a campaign all over the country against the "Gag" Law. This took the form of introducing in all branches resolutions protesting against the decision to prohibit the introduction of resolutions. If the Socialist bureaucrats had had too many resolutions before, they were flooded with them after the passing of the "Gag" Law.

We decided to fight, bring the thing to a head and put up with no more abuse. We had finished our work by that time anyway. Between the convention and the few months leading up to this head-on collision, we had virtually completed our work of educating and organizing those elements of the Left Wing, of the youth, who were really serious and capable of becoming proletarian revolutionists. The composition of the Socialist Party was predominantly petty bourgeois. It became clear that we could not hope to win over a real majority of the party with all the restrictions placed upon us. We had to get our hands free to re-establish our public press and turn our main attention once more to the broad class struggle.

We called a meeting of the National Committee of our faction for June in New York, worked up the resolutions for our fight and organized it on a national scale. They retaliated by wholesale expulsions, beginning in New York. I never saw more bureaucratic and brutal violations of democratic rights and party constitution than these pious Social Democrats resorted to when they found they couldn't beat us in fair debate. They just framed us up and threw us out. A few days after the expulsion of the first group in New York we answered with the **Socialist Appeal** reappearing now as a printed 8-page tabloid weekly. We set up a "National Committee of the Expelled Branches," and called for a convention of the expelled branches to draw the balance of these experiences. All this work was done, especially in the later months, under the closest cooperation and even under the supervision of Comrade Trotsky.

By that time, you know, he was in Mexico and we had personal contact and communication with him. In the midst of all his troubles, and the preparation of all his material on the Moscow trials, he had time to write us frequently and to show that he had a very close and sensitive understanding of our problem. He did everything he could to help us.

Our campaign led us directly to a convention of the expelled branches of the Socialist Party in Chicago on the last day of December and New Year's Day 1938. There we recorded the results of the year and a half experience in the Socialist Party. It was clear that it had facilitated the organization of the Trotsky Defense Committee which had been the means of revealing the truth about the Moscow trials to the whole world, and enabling us to deal the biggest blow at Stalinism it had ever received up to that time. Our entry into the Socialist Party had facilitated our trade union work. Our work in the maritime strike in California, for example, had been greatly aided by the fact that, at the time, we were members of the Socialist Party. Our comrades had better connections in the automobile workers union where, up to then, we had never had anything more than an occasional contact. The basis had been laid for a powerful fraction of Trotskyists in the automobile workers union.

The great surprise of the convention was the revelation that while we had been concentrating on this inner political work inside the Socialist Party, we had been at the same time developing, practically without any direction from our central leadership, our trade union work on a scale we had never approximated before and had at least begun the proletarianization of the party. We had won over to our side the majority of the Socialist youth and the majority of those Socialist workers really interested in the principles of Socialism and the Socialist revolution.

The convention adopted the program of the Fourth International without any opposition. This showed that our educational work had been thoroughgoing. All these accomplishments can be chalked up as evidence of the political wisdom of our entry into the Socialist Party. And another of them—and not the least of them—was that when the Socialist Party expelled us and when we retaliated by forming an independent party of our own, the Socialist Party had dealt itself a death blow. Since then the SP has progressively disintegrated until it has virtually lost any semblance of influence in any part of the labor movement. Our work in the Socialist Party contributed to that. Comrade Trotsky remarked about that later, when we were talking with him about the total result of our entry into the Socialist Party and the pitiful state of its organization afterward. He said that alone would have justified the entry into the organization even if we hadn't gained a single new member.

Partly as a result of our experience in the Socialist Party and our fight in there, the Socialist Party was put on the side lines. This was a great achievement, because it was an obstacle in the path of building a revolutionary party. The problem is not merely one of building a revolutionary party, but of clearing obstacles from its path. Every other party is a rival. Every other party is an obstacle.

Now just contrast these achievements—and I have not exaggerated them—contrast these results with the results of the policies of the sectarians. They had renounced the idea of entry into the Socialist Party on principle. They said their policy of abstention would build a revolutionary party better and sooner. A year and a half elapsed, two years elapsed, and what had happened? We had more than doubled our membership on top of all the other gains I have mentioned. The Oehlerites had not won over a single Socialist youth or worker. Not one. On the contrary, the only thing they had produced was a couple of splits in their own ranks. I think that contrast is a convincing verification of the political questions that arose in the dispute with them. Always bear in mind that there is a way of verifying political disputes, that is, by subsequent experiences. Politics is not religion; political disputes do not remain forever undecided. Life decides. You can never solve a theological dispute because it takes place outside the life on this earth. It is not influenced by class struggle, by political upheavals, or storms or floods or earthquakes. In the Middle Ages they used to argue about how many angels could dance on the point of a needle. How many? A thousand? Ten thousand?

Ours is the Program of The Fourth International

The question was never decided because there is no way of knowing by earthly experience how many angels can dance on such a restricted area as the point of a needle. After it was proved that we had made all these gains and the sectarians had gained nothing, the only argument that could be made in their behalf was: "Yes, you doubled your membership, but at the sacrifice of the program." But that wasn't so. When we held our convention at Chicago at the end of our experience in the Socialist Party, it was shown that we had come out with the same program we had taken in—the program of the Fourth International.

Our "round trip" through the Socialist Party had resulted in gains all along the line. We formed the Socialist Workers Party in Chicago on New Year's Day and began once again an independent struggle with good prospects and good hopes. The extensive discussion that took place in our ranks prior to the convention had revealed differences and weaknesses which later were to come out in the open. We had a great discussion over the Russian question. Overwhelmed by the treachery of Stalinism, the Moscow trials, the assassination of the Spanish revolution—all these terrible experiences—a section of the party, already in the fall of 1937, wanted to give up the idea that Russia was a workers' state and renounce its defense. It has always happened, ever since 1917, that whenever anybody went wrong on the Russian question he became lost to the revolutionary movement. It couldn't be otherwise because the Russian question is precisely the question of a revolution that has taken place.

Heading the doubters and skeptics in the fall of 1937 was Burnham. Burnham was still willing to give conditional defense to the Soviet Union, but was already beginning to elaborate what he thought was a new theory, that the workers' state never existed. He was simply adapting himself to the half-baked theories of the anarchists and the Mensheviks which had been expounded since 1917 and are renewed at every crisis of the evolution of the Soviet Union. In addition to that, Burnham led an opposition against us on the organization question. He didn't like the Bolshevik method of organization, Bolshevik discipline and centralization and Bolshevik morality. These symptoms are well known. Anybody who begins by objecting to Bolshevism on the questions of methods, organization and "morality" certainly has Menshevism in his blood. The political program is the touchstone, but the disputes on the organization question often reveal the symptoms earlier than the political debates.

Socialist Workers Party Founded On New Year's 1938

These weaknesses, these anti-Bolshevik tendencies shown by Burnham in that period had their logical development later. At that time I wrote a long letter to Comrade Trotsky, frankly characterizing the position of Burnham and asking his advice about how to cope with him; that is, how to defend Bolshevism most effectively and still try to save Burnham for the revolution. Shachtman at that time was fighting on the side of Bolshevism. He joined in this characterization of Burnham and helped in the fight. But then, Shachtman being Shachtman, it was only natural that two years later, when the same fight broke out again, in much more violent form, with the World War as a background—it was only natural that Shachtman should then join Burnham to fight against us.

The discussion of 1937 foreshadowed future troubles. We were yet to go through another great internal struggle in the party, the most fundamental and thoroughgoing of all the internal fights in the movement since its inception. We had to go through all of this, on top of all the preceding struggles, before the decks could be cleared and the party prepared for the test of war that was to come. We made that fight and Bolshevism was victorious in it; the Bolshevik party is stronger for it. The history of this fight is recorded in documents, the great political and theoretical contributions of Comrade Trotsky, and on the organization side in some writings of mine. Those who want to follow the history of the party from the point where I leave it here, with the foundation of the Socialist Workers Party on New Year's 1938, can pick it up in these documents. As for what happened after the fight with the petty-bourgeois opposition and the eventual split, it seems that this is recent history, so recent that it does not need to be reviewed in this course. It is known to all of you.

Now, dear Comrades, with your permission, I want to say a word about the great happiness and satisfaction I have had in giving these lectures. If a young comrade, studying public speaking were to ask me, an old campaigner, what a public speaker most needs, I would say: "He needs a good audience." And if he gets the kind of audience that I have had in this series of twelve lectures—so warm, responsive and appreciative, so interested in the subject and so friendly to the speaker—he will indeed be fortunate.

THE END

With this chapter we conclude the serialization of "The History of American Trotskyism." We are sure that many of our readers who have read all or part of the book from week to week will want a copy of their own to study. It can now be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y., at special reduced prices: cloth $2, paper $1.

Detroit Case Of False Arrest, Police Harassment Symbolizes The Daily Oppression Of Negro People

By Ted Reading

Everyone has read and heard of lynchings and other extreme cases of terrorization of Negroes, especially in the South. But many white workers do not know about the day-after-day, year-after-year persecution and intimidation of the Negro people that goes on, not only in the Deep South, but in the North as well.

Recently a Toledo Negro friend of mine, Mr. Edward Hackley, told me of his experiences in Detroit, the same great Northern city which two years ago was the scene of murderous pogrom attacks upon the Negro people. He had gone to Detroit on a business trip. The incident, as he related it in his own words, began on the evening of October 1:

"Following an announcement by the dispatcher at the Greyhound Bus station that a Toledo-bound bus was loading at Gate 9, and having already purchased our tickets, we took our place in line to await our turn. Just as it came our turn to board the bus, the driver announced that the bus was filled to capacity and we did not board it.

DENIED BUS SEAT

"We then waited one hour at which time the dispatcher again announced that a Toledo-bound bus was loading at gate number 2. We went over to gate number 2 and again took our place in line. The bus driver proceeded to check tickets and load the passengers. When it came my turn to board the bus, the driver told me to go to the rear of the line, saying that the bus was going all the way through to Cleveland and that he had to seat Cleveland passengers first.

"I told him that I had paid for my ticket to Toledo with no such understanding and that anyway if it were true that the bus could not accommodate all passengers seated, I didn't see why I should be made to stand in view of the fact that I had waited my turn in line. The driver, however still insisted that I go to the rear of the line. This I refused to do as the reasons given did not seem to me to be valid. I boarded the bus.

"The bus driver loaded the rest of the passengers, including several for Toledo. After all people were aboard I counted eleven vacant seats with no one standing. The bus was scheduled to leave at midnight. At half an hour past midnight the bus driver returned with two policemen behind him.

POLICE "GET TOUGH"

"They boarded the bus and without further ado the policemen grabbed hold of a Negro who was sitting ahead of me and were in the act of hustling him off the bus when the driver expressed doubts as to whether they had the right man. They let him go and grabbed another Negro and were in the act of hustling him off the bus when again the driver expressed doubts as to whether they had the right man. They let him loose. I held up my hand and said, 'I'm the man you're looking for.'

"The policemen approached me and told me to get off the bus as it was not going to Toledo. I told them that the dispatcher had announced that the bus was going to Toledo. They asked to see my ticket. I produced my ticket and handed it to them for their approval. However they still insisted that the bus was not going to Toledo. I again stated that both the ticket seller and the dispatcher both said that the bus was Toledo-bound. They again insisted that I leave the bus.

"I asked what it was all about. At this point one of the policemen took out his blackjack, assumed a threatening posture and said, 'Are you going to get off or do I have to get tough with you?'

"I got off the bus and turned toward the station intention seeing the manager for an explanation. They grabbed me and said 'No, not that way, but this way.' Again I asked to know what it was all about. At this point they asked if I had any identification on me and what was my business in Detroit. I produced some of my business papers which specified my name, dates, times, etc., that I was to be in Detroit.

THE 'MISSING' TICKET

"They then asked for my draft card. I had neglected to put the card in my pocket when I left home. They then said that I would have to come to the police station until my draft status was cleared up. I was put in the police cruiser and taken to the Central Police Station.

"I was led before the examining officer who said 'Is this the man who was trying to get on the bus without a ticket?' I protested that I did have a ticket. One of the police then said 'Are you insinuating that I took your ticket?' I replied that I was making no insinuations but that I had produced the ticket on request and that I had not seen it again. At this point one of the policemen assumed a threatening attitude and cursed and said 'If you're saying that I took your ticket you're a lying bitch.'

"The examining officer then asked me what happened and if it was true that I was trying to get on the bus without a ticket. I then related the whole story to him.

"The examining officer then again asked to see the ticket. I told him that I had already produced it on request before and that I hadn't seen it again. At this point one of the officers that brought me in doubled up his fists and again called me a 'lying bitch!'

CAN'T USE PHONE

"They booked me on a charge of attempting to board a bus without a ticket and not carrying a draft card. I was searched. My valuables and personal belongings were removed from my person and I was led away to a cell. I asked permission to use the phone so that I might arrange to have my draft card brought in. I was told that I could use one when I got upstairs.

"When I got upstairs I again asked permission to use the phone. I was told that I could use it at eight o'clock the next morning. I was placed in a cell with 29 other Negroes. The cell was intended to house 18 men. We were segregated from white prisoners, although only three were occupying another single cell able to hold many more. It was impossible to lie down and I spent the night standing up.

"In the morning I asked the turnkey for permission to use the phone. I was then told that I wouldn't be able to use it till six that night.

"At 10 that morning I was taken out of my cell and brought before the chief of detectives. He questioned me about trying to board a bus without a ticket. I denied that I had attempted to board a bus without a ticket and produced a receipt for $13 which had been taken from me when I had been searched. I pointed out that I could easily have purchased a ticket if such was the case. I was also questioned by members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

STANDING ROOM ONLY

"The chief of Detectives appeared satisfied but said he would have to hold me till my draft status had been cleared up. Again I was refused permission to use the phone.

"I was returned to my cell. At 6 p.m. that night I was finally permitted to use the phone. I was restricted to making only one call and that to be in the local area only.

"I spent the second night standing up in the crowded cell.

"Wednesday morning I was again taken before the chief of detectives for further questioning. When I again asked to know what it was all about, he read the charge from the complaint sheet charging me with having 'created a disturbance' at the bus station. The detective then informed me that my wife was here with my draft card and that it appeared to him that the bus company was 'not going to press the charges' and that in all probability I would be out in a little while.

"I was taken back to my cell for a little while longer. Presently the turnkey called my name and told me to follow him. I was taken out of the cell and given back my valuables and other personal belongings. When my valuables were handed back, the bus ticket fell out of an envelope. I left the jail and immediately proceeded to find legal counsel in order to press charges for false arrest."

Detroit
Buy THE MILITANT
AT THE
FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND

Where Mine Owners' Greed Brought Disaster

More miners' lives were sacrificed last week to the greed of mine owners who callously disregard essential safety measures. An underground explosion trapped 31 men in the Straight Creek Coal Company's No. 1 mine in Pineville, Kentucky. This is a general view of the village and the shacks in which the miners are forced to live. Relatives and friends of the entombed men are gathered at the entrance of the mine (arrow). (Story on page one.)

New Imperialist Robber Deals Mark Secret Moscow Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

United Nations Organization will possess the power to prevent atom destruction of mankind in the Third World War. In reality, the USO (Wall Street) retains veto power on its use. On top of this, the American imperialists are not obligated to reveal the decisive secrets of its manufacture. In brief the situation remains as before. The American militarists did not pause a moment in their plans for further experiments with the bombs, particularly in naval warfare. Meanwhile, the atomic plants continue to manufacture the terrible bombs at the rate of approximately 500 a year.

See Editorial
'The Stalinists Cheer'
Page 4

2. A far Eastern Commission was set up to act as an advisory body on military rule of Japan. This body is another instrument of repression against the Japanese masses. Moreover, the real power remains as before in the hands of the brass hats who are carrying out Wall Street's aims. Washington's representative can veto decisions he may not like. In case of disagreement the brass hats continue to make "interim" decisions and retain power of appointment and dismissal of officials.

BOLSTER DICTATOR

3. The three diplomats at Moscow agreed to further bolster up the hated reactionary dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek. In return, the butcher of the Chinese masses will agree to include a couple of Stalin's agents in his government. U. S. imperialism will withdraw its troops, but **not until the Japanese are disarmed and transported to Japan.** This will take a long time, since right now the USA is utilizing Japanese troops as part of its own forces in China. The real situation is sharply revealed by Gen. Wedemeyer's announcement, two days after the Moscow declaration, that 4,000 more U.S. troops will be sent to China.

4. Korea will be placed in "trusteeship." This is the same formula of enslavement used by the Japanese imperialists in 1910 when they conquered the country. The Koreans reacted vigorously to the three diplomats' carving up their country, denouncing it as a "lethel blow" to their hopes for independence. Crowds gathered in the streets of Seoul and posters appeared calling on the people to resist "trusteeship" and "be prepared to shed their blood in the cause of freedom."

5. In Rumania and Bulgaria, Stalin agreed to have his puppet governments add a couple of representatives of the "opposition," i.e., agents of Anglo-American imperialism, to make the regimes look more democratic. But here too nothing essential is changed. The Stalinist bureaucracy continues its totalitarian stranglehold on the people.

COMPLICATED FORMULA

6. Finally the Big Three agreed on a complicated formula for drawing up some of the treaties to establish the first stages of the robber "peace" between wars. The essence of this agreement was to give the "small" nations (satellites of the big powers) a voice in the process without changing by an iota Big Three dictation of these treaties. The Big Three and their spokesmen proclaim this a great step forward—at the London Conference they couldn't even agree on this rubber-stamping procedure.

Far more significant than this perfidious horse-trading were the omissions from the declaration.

OMINOUS OMISSIONS

First of all, these three diplomats sitting around a table cutting up the map of the world, did not in any respect represent the two billion people whose fate is at stake. They represented only the interests of tiny ruling cliques. The peoples of the earth were not consulted. They will never consent to the decisions of the three. The declaration represents only passing stage of relationships in the power politics of the Big Three.

The declaration did not mention Indonesia. Not long ago the officials of the Indonesian Republic addressed appeals to Washington and Moscow for help against the brutal assault of the British and Dutch imperialist armies. Stalin and Truman gave the heroic fighters of Java their answer at Moscow. The answer was dead silence, a silence signifying assent to their subjugation.

The declaration did not mention Indo-China. The Viet Namh Republic, likewise battling American-armed British and French imperialism, appealed to Moscow for aid. They got the same vicious response handed the Indonesians—silence.

The declaration did not mention Iran and Turkey, now being threatened and torn in the struggle for spheres of influence between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Anglo-American powers.

In fact the declaration failed to breathe a word about the aspirations for independence and freedom of the majority of humanity in the colonial and semi-colonial lands.

SILENT ON GERMANY

The declaration likewise overlooked the most burning problem of the day—the question of Germany. It was undoubtedly discussed by these robbers, but whatever they decided could not stand the light of day. Nor was anything proposed to alleviate the terrific sufferings of the survivors among the Jews in Europe. And so Europe — so far as Stalin and Anglo-American imperialism is concerned—will remain as before, devastated, ruined, a widening morass of hunger, disease, death and desolation, held in a straitjacket by the occupying armies.

The Moscow Conference with its miserable horse-trading reveals the mockery of the United Nations Organization. All the real decisions are made behind thick veils of censorship. They are made before this paper organization even meets. The secret conferences reveal that all the glowing baptismal speeches made at the christening of the UNO at San Francisco were so much lying demagogy. On December 31, the old League of Nations spoke a few hollow words from its mausoleum at Geneva. But its successor, the UNO, proves to be a corpse even before a city has been selected for its site.

Capitalism has reached such a stage of decay it has no hope whatever of any perspective but continued unending war, with only brief interludes in which to recuperate and rebuild its military machine.

That is the reality which the Moscow declaration tries to hide and cover up. The deals made there will prove no more effective in paving the way to enduring peace than were the Teheran and Yalta conference decisions.

READ
'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

Supreme Sacrifice

"Joan Fontaine is to star in a picture centering about a subway romance. To enable her to get the proper feel of the situation, Joan decided she must suffer like other subway sardines. She was driven uptown in a limousine, stopped at the 161st street station, gave her chauffeur precise instructions, went into the Eighth Avenue subway, rode for two stations, emerged and was picked up by her car." **(Los Angeles Examiner.)**

STRIKING WORKERS IN FLINT FACE NEW GM PROVOCATIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

factory, scores of pickets circled the gates. Numerous cars were turned back when pickets refused to open their lines.

Some of the union-hating supervision, knowing that pickets would not stop them, edged their cars through the picket lines. The confusing policy of the UAW regional officers produced endless bewilderment among the pickets. More than one picket captain threw up his hands in disgust when the cars started going through the lines.

Several cops at the Leith Street gate advised supervisors to go through the picket lines. "The pickets won't stop you," was the usual comment.

It is interesting to note that two of the locals are discussing ways and means of organizing the office workers. Union officials see this as one possible solution to the present problem. No organizational steps have been taken as yet.

RANKS DISSATISFIED

Despite a lull in the strike over the holidays there is noticeable a growing dissatisfaction in the ranks over the policy of the UAW International leaders. In discussion with this reporter scores of militants mention time and again the vast difference between the sit-down strikes and the present strikes. These militants were the second rank leaders at Chevrolet and Fisher Body during the heroic 1937 battles.

This undercurrent of criticism has been stirred by the UAW top leaders' proposal to provide "company security" to Ford, a proposal quickly grabbed up by GM. Hundreds of militants have voiced their opposition to it and have declared openly they would fight it with the same determination and vigor with which they fought the no-strike pledge.

The International leaders are quite aware of this dissatisfaction and intend to leave no stone unturned to ram their policy down the throats of the GM workers. At the last Chevrolet membership meeting, the International sent in Victor Reuther and several local regional representatives to fight a proposal of the Chevrolet militants who were recommending that the steel workers advance their strike date from January 14 to January 1.

Despite the high-pressure speeches of the union brass hats, 40 per cent of the members cast their votes for the proposal of the progressives of the Chevrolet local.

Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg
MEMORIAL MEETING

Friday, Jan. 18

Featuring:

'Czar To Lenin'

Famous documentary film showing actual scenes of the Russian Revolution.

Speaker:
C. Thomas, New York Organizer, SWP
Chairman: ROSE KARSNER

Cornish Arms Hotel **New York**
311 W. 23rd St. **8 P.M.**
Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."
—KARL MARX

by **CHARLES JACKSON**

"Try It At Home"

The Detroit Free Press of December 27 carries an interesting editorial entitled "Try It At Home." It is characteristic of the present attempts of some of the capitalist press to "criticize" the too obviously contradictory gyrations of Wall Street imperialism as it applies a "democratic" cover to its real plunderbund aims. The editorial follows:

"The United States is going to do something described as unique in history when it sends a staff of trained observers into Greece to watch and report on that nation's forthcoming elections — as a safeguard to the people's rights.

"The preparations are said to be elaborate," the Free Press explains. "After a careful course of briefing to familiarize the American observers with a background of current conditions and Greek history, the group will be divided into teams which will tour the polling places and keep watchful eyes on just what goes on.

"These teams will be supplemented by public opinion sampling groups who will attempt to double-check the attitude of the Greek electorate," the editorial continues.

"It would be an interesting and, from the standpoint of the Country, assuring experiment to do the same thing here. Similarly trained teams of expert observers, well briefed in advance on what to look for, might be sent at election time into some of our boss-controlled cities such as Frank Hague's domain in Jersey City, or Boss Crump's Memphis, or into Chicago where the Kelly machine rules." Then the editorial adds as a casual afterthought — "They might even be sent into the deep South."

LUDICROUS MANEUVERS

The fact that the bought daily press is forced to the point of writing such editorial suggestions, only proves that American imperialism, in its attempt to control and exploit the world and yet retain a "democratic" cover, is being forced into more and more ludicrous and ridiculous maneuvers. It is only further exposing itself. Its struggle to perpetuate this masquerade is absolutely hopeless.

This latest action to "protect the democratic rights" of the people of Greece, is of course, one of the most unvarnished acts of hypocrisy yet attempted. Practically the entire literate population of this country, as well as that of many other lands, knows full well that over ten million American citizens of the Southern States are denied the franchise and have no voice in the government because of the poll tax laws. Every attempt to repeal by federal law this reactionary practice has met with failure. Although there are more indigent white farmers and workers than there are Negroes who are disfranchised by the poll tax, every debate on this issue in Congress is merely the go-ahead signal for a rabid campaign of Bilboistic Negro-baiting by the representatives of the Southern landowners.

Not only the poll tax, but even more so, open intimidation and terrorization, are used in the South to deprive the exploited masses of any say-so in the government. Although the white-only primary has been ostensibly outlawed by precedent in Texas, the working class Negro who wants to keep his job and not become involved on some phony charge by the ever-present police force, knows pretty well that it is best for him to stay at home on election day.

Under such circumstances it is obviously impossible for the Negro or poor white worker in the South to have any semblance of political equality. That fact is known equally well by the workers themselves, the middle-of-the-road liberals and the American top ruling class which is now busily engaged in training "observers" to protect the democratic rights of the Greek people.

U. S. "DEMOCRACY" ABROAD

To make even more clear the real interest that the American government has in the "democratic rights" even of the people of foreign lands, one needs only to inspect the way they are "protecting" the Indonesians who are now being bombed, strafed and burned with American-made munitions and by American-trained Dutch marines, because they issued their own Declaration of Independence from imperialist exploitation.

And then, again, many of our memories are not too short to recall the tacit consent given by the American State Department when the British were busy killing Greek men, women and children for the crime of trying to set up their own form of government after they had run the Nazis out of their country. Ah! yes, poor, unprotected Greece.

No, the Big Business government is interested not in protecting but in robbing the working people of all lands and all colors, of their democratic rights, so Wall Street will be able to further exploit their labor.

Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities

AKRON — Visit The Militant Club, 405-6 Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 7 to 9 p.m.

ALLENTOWN - BETHLEHEM — Branch meeting every Thursday, 8 p.m., at **Militant Labor Forum**, S. E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Allentown.

BOSTON—Office at 30 Stuart St. Open Mondays and Saturdays from noon until 5 p.m., Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO — Every Saturday night, **Current Events Discussion and Open House**, at Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.

CHICAGO — Visit the Chicago SWP headquarters, 160 N. Wells, R. 317. Open 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7562.

CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall 1446 E. 82nd St.

DETROIT — SWP Open House every Saturday at 6108 Linwood. Forums on topical questions every Sunday, 8 p.m.

KANSAS CITY — SWP Branch meets Saturday, 8 p.m. Rm. 203, Studio Bldg., 418 E. 9th St., for study and discussion.

LOS ANGELES — Visit SWP headquarters, 145 S. Broadway, Room 203, Los Angeles 12; or San Pedro, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

Lecture Series On Current Strike Wave: "Wages," John Patrick; "Profits," Al Miller; "Prices," Gordon Bailey; "Jobs," Myra Tanner Weiss. **Schedule:**

Central, 106 Venice Blvd., near Main: "Wages," Friday, Jan. 18; "Profits," Jan. 25; "Prices," Feb. 1; "Jobs," Feb. 8.

East Side, Folks Hall, 424 N. Soto: "Wages," Wednesday, Jan. 16; "Profits," Jan. 23; "Prices," Jan. 30; "Jobs," Feb. 6.

San Pedro, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214: "Wages," Friday, Jan. 11; "Profits," Jan. 18; "Prices," Jan. 25; "Jobs," Feb. 1.

MILWAUKEE — Visit the Milwaukee branch of the SWP at its headquarters, 424 E. Wells St., any evening from 7:30.

MINNEAPOLIS—Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily.

Forum every Sunday, 3:30 p.m.

NEWARK — Open forum every Friday at the Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30.

NEW YORK—Registration open at 116 University Pl. for classes in Principles of Marxism, Public Speaking and Parliamentary Procedure.

Harlem Discussion Group meets every Sunday night 7:30 p.m., 103 West 110 St., Room 23.

Office open Monday to Thurs., 1 to 4:30, also Fri. and Sun., 7:30 to 10 p.m.

Youth Group Forum Friday Jan. 11, 8 p.m., 'Big 3 Conference'. Speaker, Al Forbes. 116 University Pl.

Brooklyn House-warming social, 635 Fulton St., Sat., Jan. 19 at 8 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA — SWP Headquarters, 405 W. Girard Ave. Open forums every **Friday** 8 p.m. on current topics.

Socialist Youth Group meets on alternate Saturdays, 8 p.m.

PITTSBURGH—Militant Reading Room, Seely Bldg., 5905 Penn Ave., corner **Penn. Ave.** & Beatty St., E. Liberty. **Open** Sunday, Tuesday, **Thursday** 7 to 9, and Saturday **2-9 p.m.** Circulating library. **Class on** Fundamentals of **Marxism** every Sunday evening.

PORTLAND, Ore. — **Visit the** SWP headquarters, **134 S. W.** Washington, **3rd Floor. Tel** ATwater 3992. **Open 1 to** 4 p.m., daily except **Sunday,** and 6 to 8 p.m. on **Tuesday** and Friday.

SAN FRANCISCO — **Visit the** San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, **4th** floor; open from **12 noon to** 3 p.m., Monday through **Saturday,** and 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.

SEATTLE—Study groups every Friday, 7:45 p.m., at Seattle School of Social Science, 1919½ Second Ave.; 1. Imperialism; 2. Introduction to Socialism.

ST. LOUIS—Visit our headquarters, 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, open Monday through Saturday from 12 to 2 p.m.; Monday, Wednesday, **Friday** from 8 to 10 p.m.

TOLEDO—Forums every Tuesday. 8:45 p.m., Rol Davis Bldg., Room 304, 905 Jefferson Ave. Open evenings, 7-9.

YOUNGSTOWN — Youngstown School of Social Science, 225 N. Phelps St., open to public Tuesday and Saturday afternoon from 2 to 5; also 7:30 to 9:30 p.m., Monday through Thursday.

Diary Of A Steelworker *By T. Kovalesky*

STEEL PLANT SCENES

It is a bleak, windswept plain, drifted heavily with snow. In the center of it stands a grimy, battered shed of corrugated iron with a strange covered incline running out and up from it, black against the snow. From the incline pours a steady cloud of steam that hovers over it and dissipates in the frigid air. This is the pig machine.

Inside the shed men are pouring iron from the great ladles into a continually moving conveyor of pig molds that travel slowly up the incline, as the molten iron cools and hardens, and then drop the pigs crashing into flat cars that will carry them away. The platform men drip sweat as they poke the runners with long sticks keeping the flow of iron steady, but their backs are freezing cold. The lime man runs in and out, checking the flow of lime that sprays the inside of the pig molds, and the "sticker" men stand shivering near the flat cars, knocking down with long bars those pigs that have stuck to the molds after they have turned over.

Eight hours here is a terrible ordeal of cold. Punishing gusts of winter wind flap the loose sheet irons on the walls of the shed. The outside men are covered with snow, and on their shoes gleams a thin coating of ice. The pig machine gang earns less than a dollar an hour.

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As you stand at the end of the furnace, you see a man heavily clothed in old rags climb slowly up the stairs leading to the trestle. At a landing he comes to a stop and leans on the railing. Looking over at you, he grins a little sheepishly, straightens wearily, and resumes his slow climb. He hasn't spoken a word, but you know what his smile meant. It meant, "So you noticed what I did, eh? Well, we understand, don't we! I've climbed these steps for many a year; and now the weight of all those other dead old years is resting on my back. So, it's hard to carry all that load up these stairs. Every year it grows heavier. I guess I must be . . . getting old!"

You answered his grin with one of your own, and that, too, carried with it a message. It said, "That's true, old timer. You are getting old, and so are all of us. It's hard on a workingman when his body wears out and he can no longer toil as he used to . . . but that's life. Work, grow old and tired, and die when you can't work any longer, work out your life for the boss and never have anything for yourself. This we know, so we smile at each other as comrades who travel the same road."

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Her back is bent from a lifetime of toil. Her eye is full of brooding sadness, and the sound of twilight is in her voice. Every bleak morning we see Sarah Johnson plod slowly through the snow on her way into the plant, and each afternoon we see her go her sad and weary way.

Sarah is a woman who has lived too long, who has outlived her life and now exists merely in a period of waiting for . . . nothing. Poor, a Negro, a lifetime of cheerless toil behind her, Sarah's one happiness rested in her boy, Rob, the very image of his father, who was killed by an engine years ago. Every day as Sarah would come into the plant to sweep out the blast furnace offices and do little odd jobs, we'd stop her and ask what she heard from Rob, when he'd be home again, how he was making out. And how proudly Sarah would tell us of his progress in the Jim Crow army. When he was made a corporal, the pride was almost too sweet, too great for Sarah to bear. All day at her work she smiled to herself. All day she hummed under her breath.

But today Sarah does not smile, nor does she sing. Vacantly she does her job, puts in her hours, and wanders away from the steel plant at the end of her shift, plodding, bent and weary, home to an empty house that will never be less empty. For her Rob will never come back to her. Rob, who "looked jes like his daddy," will never come home again, for he is dead, killed in the last days of the capitalist war. And Sarah lives on.

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The tapping hole is wet. You can see the moisture on the drill as it lies on the bricks. Tommy, the huge, broad-shouldered Negro keeper, puts the oxygen pipe into the hole to burn it out. Standing next to the trough, he grins and wobbles his knees in a comical burlesque of terror.

Scarcely is the pipe lighted than there is a roar, and a mighty shaft of flame and sparks leaps from the tapping hole. Tommy whirls around, ducking, and steps out of the way. For his wage of about a dollar an hour he has just risked his life burning out the hole. Molten iron and moisture, you know, don't mix. They explode. That's why Tommy wiggled his knees in make-believe fright.

It makes you sure, when you see a little thing like this, that such careless, matter-of-fact courage will do wonders on the impending picket lines.

Notes Of A Seaman *By Art Sharon*

Politics and political action are often subjects of heated discussions aboard ship and in the union hall. Many otherwise class conscious and militant seamen dogmatically reject politics as having no place inside the union.

Nothing is more contradictory. For it is precisely the seamen's unions that throughout their history have been confronted with political problems. More than any other section of the working class the seamen have had to deal with and struggle against the capitalist government.

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Consider the first great struggle of the seamen's union. For thirty years after the founding of the modern seamen's unions they were engaged in a struggle against the government to achieve the rights of free citizens.

Hanging in many of the West Coast seamen's halls is the framed commemorative entitled "Dawn Of A New Day." Under the leadership of Andrew Furuseth they had finally achieved the status of free citizens. The LaFollette Act of 1915 was to the seamen of that period actually the "dawn of a new day."

This "new day" came to an abrupt end at the conclusion of the First World War. The government through the United States Shipping Board delivered a smashing blow at the seamen's unions. After cutting wages and forcing the union out on strike the government shipping board broke the strike. The unions were virtually demolished.

The revival of the seamen's unions came 12 years later in the great West Coast strikes of 1934. On the picket line the seamen's union retrieved many of the conditions they had lost. First among these was the union hiring hall.

Ever since that time there has been an almost continuous attack upon the heart of the seamen's unions today, the hiring hall. In its long-range merchant marine policy the government needs a regimented and docile labor force. But to want it is one thing—to get it is another. The government in most of its attempts has run into stubborn resistance from the seamen.

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The strikes of 1934 and 1936-37 convinced Washington that the ship-owners by themselves could not "handle" the labor problem. Acting in the interests of the ship-owners and of the capitalist class generally, the government has tried unceasingly to find some way of more completely regimenting the seamen.

The great threat to the seamen's unions today comes from Washington. The ship-"owners" can very well afford to sit back and wait. The lessons of the period after the First World War are not lost upon them. They confidently count upon the government "taking care" of the seamen's unions. This is the reason they are so arrogant today.

The seamen's unions have come to an impasse on both coasts. It is clear that no real concessions are forthcoming to the seamen. The ship operators who are counting on large government subsidies have no intention of sharing those subsidies with the men who man the ships.

Every problem confronting the seamen today leads to Washington. No thinking seaman can escape the conclusion that the fight of the seamen for the right to have a decent life must be extended from the waterfront into the national political arena. The time has come to begin thinking seriously of the political weapons that can and must be fashioned by the seamen together with the rest of labor.

That seaman who maintains that politics has no place in the seamen's unions rejects the lessons of sixty years of seamen's struggles and is walking blindfolded down a long dark alley that goes no place.

"Ships That Never Come In"

A dramatic description of the mood of American soldiers being held in foreign lands was placed in the December 10 **Congressional Record** by a Pennsylvania Representative. It tells how the men on Palawan scanned the horizon for a vessel scheduled to bring them home.

"On November 1 a rumor circulated that a ship would dock here on November 5 to take home all the men on the island in class IV units," writes the correspondent. "Later in the day this report was confirmed. The watch began on November 4. Early in the morning until late that night, both officers and enlisted men were on the beach, scanning the sea for a ship that didn't come in that day. The high tide in the morning and the low tide in the evening reflected their spirits, nevertheless, there were celebrations and farewells that night. And when the men went to bed, they were confident that it would be the last night they would sleep on Palawan."

On the following morning "they were up early and down on the beach again. No ship had come in during the night, and as the day lengthened, more and more did they realize that none would come in. In the afternoon an explanation was made that the arrival date previously given was erroneous. No new date was given at the time, and no explanation was offered for the original mistake."

"We know a soldier who used to keep a morale chart," continues the report. "Its range was from poor to very stinkingly poor. In his words, then, the morale of the men here on November 5 dropped to very stinkingly poor."

A few nights later, however, the chart again rose when the local radio station announced the arrival of a telegram ordering all the men in Class IV units to get ready to load on November 13.

"On November 12 a thousand men lined the beaches to watch for the ship. They were like men who had been shipwrecked and who were about to be rescued, and their vigil was as diligent as that of shipwrecked men waiting for the ship which will rescue them.

"The sun went down in a bank of clouds, but no ship appeared on the sea, only a storm. And the storm that night seemed foreboding, a foreshadowing of disappointment in the morning.

"And though the watch was resumed again on November 13, the men looked upon the sea with less hopeful eyes than they had gazed upon it the day before.

"Rumors, some facetious, some serious in their implications, grew as the day wore on. By its close and no ship, morale had dropped to a low which cannot be described even by very stinkingly poor.

"Officers and men alike had ceased to believe. Optimists had become cynics. Pessimists have become even more convinced that this is the worst of all possible worlds."

On November 16 the ship had not yet arrived. The soldiers "wonder now whether there ever was a ship scheduled to take them home . . . and some wonder whether there ever will be."

Coroner's Inquest Attempts To Whitewash Vigilante Issue In The Fontana Tragedy

By Jean Simon

(Special To The Militant)

FONTANA, Cal., Dec. 27.—Official whitewash by law enforcement agencies of vigilante action against a Negro family in Fontana continued unabated today at the San Bernardino County coroner's inquest into the cause of the deaths of the wife and two children of O'Day H. Short.

Although Short had reported the threat violence by the vigilantes to the Los Angeles Negro press, to his attorney, to the FBI, to relatives and friends two weeks before the mysterious fire which seriously injured him and destroyed his family, no testimony about the vigilante threats was permitted at the inquest.

County Coroner R. E. Williams and District Attorney Jerome B. Kavanaugh permitted only evidence that would tend to substantiate their theory that the fire was caused by an accident.

In attempting to establish "whether the deceased had met their death through accident, or whether foul play was involved," they refused to allow Marian Downs, sister of the dead woman, or J. Robert Smith, editor of the **Tri-County Bulletin**, to tell what they knew about the vigilante threat.

WITNESSES NOT CALLED

They also failed to place on the witness stand for questioning real estate dealer J. Sutherland, who had delivered the vigilante threat to Short. Sutherland was present today, as he was last Saturday, when the inquest opened. At that time Kavanaugh had requested a continuation until all of the persons who had any information could be present. He said he wanted the testimony of Smith, militant Negro editor who had made accusations, of Sutherland, of the neighbors, etc.

They failed to place on the witness stand Deputy Sheriffs Joe Glines and "Tex" Cornelison, who, according to the sheriff's record quoted in the **Bulletin**, had warned Short he was "out of bounds."

The district attorney introduced into evidence and read into the record a transcript of his interview with Short in the hospital on Saturday, December 22.

The transcript revealed a brutal grilling of the sick man who repeatedly protested against being compelled to make a legal statement when he did not feel that he was in a condition to speak competently for himself.

ALL-WHITE JURY

After hearing testimony of the pathologist who performed the autopsies, neighbors, the fire chief, and the deputy state fire marshal, the all-white coroner's jury concluded that the deaths were due to shock caused by burns from a fire of unknown origin.

The inquest was attended by more than 60 persons who had come from cities within a 70 mile radius.

Protest against the conduct of the inquest was expressed by Smith, Marian Downs, and Robert Downs, Jr., a brother-in-law of the deceased. They objected to the failure to investigate the vigilante threats and the vigilantes.

The whole procedure underlined the correctness of the proposals made by the Socialist Workers Party at an informal meeting to consider the Fontana case, called last week by Attorney Thomas L. Griffin, president of the Los Angeles Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

At that time the Los Angeles SWP organizer Myra Tanner Weiss proposed the establishment of a broad commission of inquiry to combat attempts to whitewash the vigilante terror in the Short case and to mobilize mass support for a campaign against such terror in Fontana. She also pointed to the need for a workers' defense guard to provide protection for any workers or minority groups so threatened.

The Socialist Workers Party will continue to press for an investigation of vigilante responsibility in the Short family deaths, Comrade Weiss stated today.

Christmas Party On GM Picket Line

You can be sure that General Motor's wasn't the Santa Claus at this party of UAW strikers' children. Held right on the picket line in front of GM's South Gate, California plant, this party was a huge success, with all the youngsters receiving Christmas presents contributed by UAW Local 216 strikers and sympathizers.

GM Strikers' Children Have Fun At Picket Line Christmas Party

By M. Patrick

(Special to The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, Calif., Dec. 24—Christmas came to the children of striking General Motors workers in Los Angeles on the picket line, as UAW-CIO Local 216 today played Santa Claus to 300 youngsters right outside the South Gate plant of GM.

Babies in arms, toddlers and boys and girls had a joyous celebration, as the labor movement demonstrated that working people take care of their own. Workers in oil, steel, auto, longshore, aircraft, and almost every other phase of organized labor, proved their solidarity with the GM workers by sending gifts or money.

THIS IS WONDERFUL!

The party was a gala affair which continued at the Local 216 union hall. A festive, decorative Christmas tree stood in the hall, where Santa Claus in all his finery waited to greet each child with gifts. Ice cream and cake were there in plenty. Even stage entertainment was provided.

As one worker looked on, he remarked, "Gosh, I didn't know people could be so swell. This is wonderful!"

When plans for the party were first drawn up, some workers wondered where and how they would get the money for the affair. But not for long! Louis Ciccone, Chairman of the Christmas Party Committee, sent out a call to all CIO Locals in the Los Angeles area. The response was terrific. When workers in other unions heard about the party, gifts poured into Local 216's headquarters. Money was pledged and collections taken up in plants throughout the city.

MERCHANTS CHIP IN

Merchants of the community also came through in grand style. A few weeks before, the merchants and small business men of South Gate, Huntington Park and other communities had received letters from Henry L. Clark, General Manager of the South Gate General Motors plant, blaming the workers for the strike and asking the support of these community merchants. The gifts of Local 216 were his answer.

These small business men know that their own living conditions are tied up with the income of the General Motors workers. If the workers suffer a loss, so also do the merchants, for a worker without a decent pay check cannot buy anything but the bare necessities of life. And the small business men showed their sympathy. Fifty hobby horses arrived from one merchant; 50 trailers from another; 150 pounds of peanut butter from a third; others sent whatever they could afford.

The success of the Christmas party is another link in the strong chain of solidarity forged by the workers here in their fight against the arrogant, profit-swollen union-busting General Motors Corporation.

Buffalo CIO Wants Formation Of Labor Party

BUFFALO, N. Y.—A resolution calling upon the National CIO Executive Board to establish a national labor party, introduced by United Auto Workers' Local 424, now on strike against General Motors, was unanimously adopted by the Greater Buffalo Industrial Union Council on December 18.

The workers who are fighting for a living wage and find themselves opposed by the solid front of Big Business, government and Congress, are becoming more and more convinced that the formation of a labor party is a burning necessity. This growing awareness of the need for independent political action is clearly expressed by the resolution, which demands that the top union leadership take immediate action.

The text of the resolution, drawn up by the Political Action Committee of Local 424, passed by the local December 10 and by the CIO Council a week later, is as follows:

Whereas: The need for a unified movement by labor in national politics requires a national labor party and

Whereas: the Republican and Democratic parties have failed to represent the true interests of the workers in this country, therefore be it

Resolved: that Local 424 UAW-CIO recommends that action be taken by the CIO Executive Board to establish a national labor party and be it further

Resolved: That copies of this resolution be sent to District Council No. 11 UAW, the Greater Buffalo Industrial Union Council, the State CIO Council, the Executive Board of the UAW-CIO and the national Executive Board of the CIO.

Paris Stalinists Call The Cops

Special to The Militant

PARIS, France — An ugly tactic used by the Stalinists came to light here in the recent elections.

The Trotskyists ran candidates in the 1st Constituency. The workers greeted their campaign with great warmth, for the Trotskyists were among the most heroic of the underground fighters during the Nazi occupation.

One day a young Trotskyist received a short letter: "Dear Comrade, this is to inform you that Comrade Marty, the Communist leader, is holding a public meeting tomorrow at the police station to explain to us why we must fight against the Hitlero-Trotskyists in this quarter. I think you can come and defend your program. A sympathizer of the Fourth, Policeman X."

The young Trotskyist investigated. Sure enough, the letter did not lie. Andre Marty, once the leader of the Black Sea Mutiny, was actually in the police station explaining to the cops why they should help the Stalinists fight the Trotskyists!

Court Martial Reveals Prison Camp Brutality

Two soldiers testified "they had seen wounded American soldiers clubbed at the Tenth Reinforcement Depot in Litchfield (England), because they could not lift their legs high enough when ordered to march double time," according to a December 17 Associated Press dispatch.

This revelation came in the trial of Sgt. Judson H. Smith, provost sergeant of the depot, and the first of twelve guards to be tried at a court-martial in London on charges of brutal treatment of prisoners. His defense is being supported by Col. James A. Killiam, commander of the depot, who is not on trial.

Although enlisted men are on trial it is apparent that officers bear the real guilt. Staff Sergeant Ashur H. Baizer testified that an officer told the guardhouse staff "if they weren't tough enough they might find themselves behind bars."

NAZI-LIKE TERROR

Baizer declared the military guards at the Litchfield depot "lived in constant fear of being imprisoned themselves if they were not 'tough enough' with prisoners," reports a December 18 Associated Press dispatch.

As a result of this barbarous Brass Hat policy, Litchfield prisoners were subjected to a reign of terror comparable to that of the Nazi concentration camps.

Pfc. John P. Buckmaster said he saw a "Negro soldier clubbed to his knees by two sergeants in the guardhouse."

Other witnesses told of being held in solitary confinement on bread and water for 14 days for failing to eat a burned potato.

A guard known as "'The Move" beat Pfc. Henry Petras across the legs and back before he had recovered from an appendicitis operation.

Indignation over the treatment of soldiers at Litchfield has become so great the Army has been forced to include three officers among the eleven men to be tried.

"GI NUREMBERG"

The prosecutor, Capt. Earl J Carrol, said he was trying to prove "there was a plan to make Litchfield so 'tough' in the last months of the war that soldiers would prefer combat to confinement there. He called the trial 'the GI Nuremberg'," states Associated Press.

A medical report, marked as a prosecution exhibit, says that a "head blow might have caused the death of Pvt. Eril Bolton, two days after he had left the depot last March." (Associated Press, December 18).

Western Electric Strike Scheduled For January 3

(Continued from Page 1)

ers have resulted in a 43 per cent cut in take-home pay.

C.K. Pomeroy, WEEA Editor and Publicity Director, told **The Militant:** "We secured a 'yes' strike vote of 11,069 as against only 637 'noes.' And we're going to fight to a finish for our demands."

Pomeroy elaborated on further grievances involving large-scale downgrading, which the Union insists must be stopped by written contract provisions. He also explained how the company is shifting many former supervisors back into the ranks, violating seniority, depriving other workers of their jobs and rightful pay rates. This problem too must be solved by contract.

The ranks of the union are united in their determination to fight it out. This was reflected several weeks ago when a rank-and-filer stood up in a union meeting and made a motion to block continued company provocations by refusing to work overtime—despite the fact as he explained that he had seven children, and needed overtime pay. His motion passed overwhelmingly, proof of the workers' determination not to let the company push them around.

VETERANS SOLID

Also significant is the union-loyal attitude of the veterans. Out of 2,300 who have returned to work, over 2,000 have rejoined the union. A Veterans' Committee has been formed and will play a prominent role in the picket lines.

Walter Messmer, WEEA Strike Director, came from a meeting of strike captains and explained their plans. "The union has made thorough and efficient preparations," he said. "We shall have large picket lines at the main plant here, as well as the 20 smaller plants. Food, medical care, first aid men, transportation, a sound-truck, a picket boat on the water-front have all been provided for. We don't want any trouble but we're set for it. The Company had the gall to request that 6,300 maintenance and salaried and engineer employes be permitted to work. We told them nobody will get through our lines. If anybody stays in the plant, they better have lots of food. If they come out, they'll stay out and nobody will go in."

The WEEA already has secured full approval and assurances of adequate support from its national body, the National Federation of Telephone Workers. In addition, conferences are progressing with the officers of other NFTW locals such as those in Point Breeze, Baltimore, and Haverhill, Mass., to secure a broadening of the strike if necessary.

ROLE OF STALINISTS

These strike preparations occur at a time when the Stalinist-controlled CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers still has charges before the NLRB against the WEEA as "company-dominated." These charges are being pressed by the Stalinist UE leaders to cover up their own scabby role during the war and subsequently when they acted as strikebreakers against the militant independent union, notably in the Westinghouse strike. It was the rotten policy of the Stalinist UE leaders which drove a section of the Western Electric and others into maintaining a union outside the CIO.

At the present time the Stalinist UE officialdom continue to hold General Motors electrical workers on the job, thus weakening the GM auto workers' strike. They have just postponed their own UE strikes until February, despite a clear-cut mandate from their membership to strike. The UE officials recently settled an important strike in East Orange, N. J., for a paltry 6 cents, a dirty sell-out in contrast to the fighting course of the independent WEEA which the Stalinists slander as "company dominated."

C. K. Pomeroy, WEEA Editor and Publicity Director, told this reporter: "We have no quarrel with the CIO, but the UE has engaged in the most disruptive tactics against us. They tried to organize out here but they could not win the confidence of the workers, because our members know that we defended their interests during the war much better than did the UE. We negotiated better contracts and working conditions. We never surrendered to the no-strike pledge.

"Failing to win rank-and-file support, the UE leaders maliciously threw this charge of 'company-domination.' Our membership laughs at this. We secured a 'yes' strike vote of 11,069 as against only 637 'noes.' And we're going to fight to a finish for our demands."